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# THE NARRATIVE OF A JAPANESE.

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THE

# NARRATIVE

OF A

# JAPANESE;

*What he has seen and the people he has met in the course of the last forty years.*

BY

JOSEPH HECO.

Edited

BY

JAMES MURDOCH, M.A.

VOL. II.

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Annex
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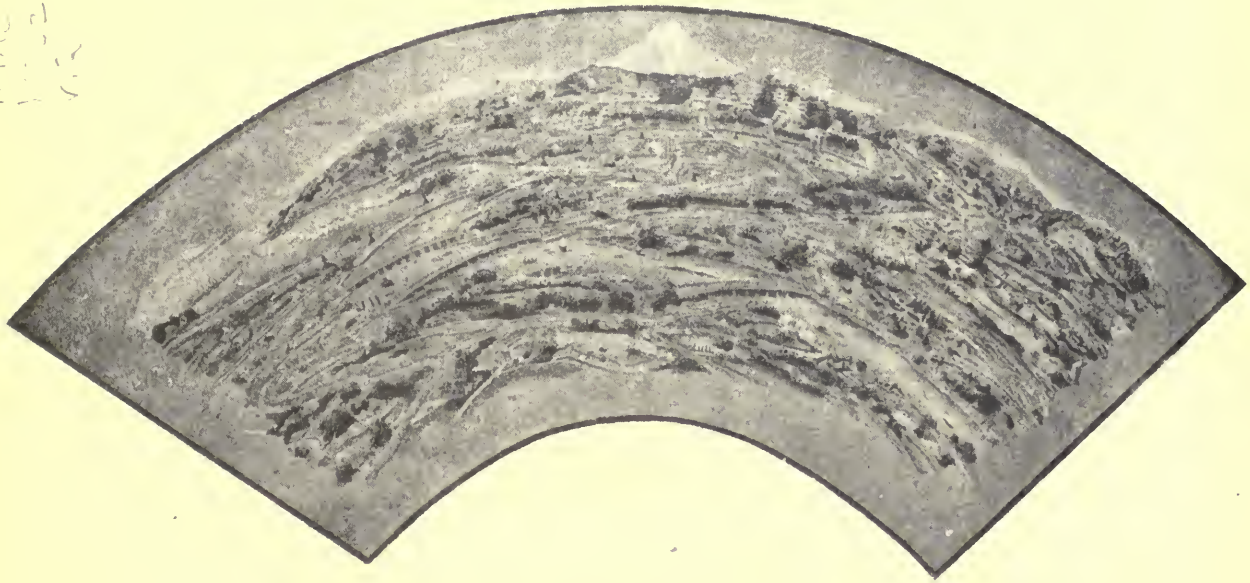


BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE CITY OF YEDO, AS IT APPEARED IN 1863.

## I.

*August 4th.* This morning the U.S. Consulate was found to be *minus* its national coat-of-arms over the gate-way. This seemed to ruffle the worthy Consul very considerably. He at once issued a notice offering a reward for information leading to the apprehension and conviction of the thief who had been tampering with Uncle Sam's fowl-yard. But all to no purpose,—for what really became of that American Eagle remains a mystery even unto this day.

On August 6th the English fleet under Admiral Kupper steamed out of the bay in line. It was said to be bound for Kagoshima, Satsuma's Capital, to exact reparation from that Daimio for the outrage committed by his men at Namamugi on the Tokaido in September, 1862.

*August 8th.* The foreign representatives were notified by the Shogun's Government that Ogasawara, Dzosho-no-kami had been released from his membership of the Gorojiu.

*August 10th.* To-day, I was specially warned by the native authorities of Yokohama to be care-

ful not to leave the town for any distance, and not to venture out on the Kanagawa side at all, inasmuch as there were several Choshiu men wandering about in the neighbourhood, with intent to slay six marked men, of whom I was one. They went on to tell me how two days before the Kanagawa authorities had discovered a gory, clotted human head in a wayside privy on the Tokaido, with the following notice attached to it:—"*This is the head of one of the Pilots who went on the American Ship-of-war to Shimonoseki on the 13th July and fought against his own countrymen on the 16th of the same month. There are five more men at large who are to be served in the same fashion.*"

*August 13th.* This morning the native town of Yokohama was found to be placarded all over in an ominous manner. These notices intimated that all Government officials were to be cut down and their houses fired. In consequence of this, extra guards were distributed in the place and posted at all the gateways with instructions to be specially vigilant.

*August 14th.* Early this morning it was reported that a large body of Choshiu *Samurai* were marching upon Yokohama to attack and burn the foreign settlement, and that a large stock of weapons and munitions of war had already been smuggled into the native town by their secret agents.

*August 16th.* This morning we were startled by news of an ominous affair in Kioto. It was reported that five or six of the leading merchants there who had been dealing in foreign goods had been cut down by so-called *rōnins*, who had pilloried their victims' heads on the principal bridges of the city with the following notice affixed to them:—"*These unprincipled persons have been dealing with foreign barbarians for their own gain, and have caused all goods to rise in price, whereby the majority of the people are suffering. Their actions are also contrary to the wishes of the Sovereign of the Empire, and therefore we have punished them as they deserve.*"

In consequence of this intelligence we noticed this same afternoon that several of the native places of business were shut. Many of them remained closed for several days. We afterwards learned that this was partly from fear, and partly to mourn the fate of their friends at Kioto.

*August 19th.* This morning a local newspaper published the following despatch addressed by H.B.M.'s *Chargé d'Affaires* to the Prince of Satsuma.

H.B.M.'s Legation, 12th August, 1863.

To His Highness, Matsudaira Shuri-no-Daibu, the *Daimio*-Prince of Satsuma, or, in his absence, the Regent or other high officer for the time being administering the Government of the Prince of Satsuma, Hiuga, Osumi and the Lew-chew Islands.

Your Highness,—It is well known to you that a barbarous murder of an unarmed and un-offending British subject and merchant was

perpetrated on the 14th of the month of September last—the 21st day of the 8th month of the 2nd year of Bunkiu of the Japanese reckoning—upon the Tokaido near Kanagawa, by persons attending the procession and surrounding the norimono of Shimadzu Saburo, who, I am informed, is the father of your Highness. It is equally known to you that a murderous assault was made at the same time by the same retinue upon a lady and two other gentlemen, British subjects, by whom he was accompanied, the two gentlemen having been severely and seriously wounded while the lady escaped by a miracle. The names of the British subjects here referred to are as follows:—Chas. Lenox Richardson, murdered; Mrs. Borrodaile, Mr. Wm. Clarke, and Mr. Wm. Marshall severely wounded. This event filled with great and just indignation the British Government and people, and excited the sympathy of, and produced a painful impression upon all civilized countries.

Impressed with friendly and considerate feelings towards the Government of the Tycoon, with whom the Queen of Great Britain —my august Sovereign—is in relations by a Treaty of Peace and Amity, I acted with proper consideration for the Tycoon's Government, by leaving in its hands the legitimate means of speedily arresting and bringing to capital punishment the murderers from among Shimadzu Saburo's retinue.

This necessary forbearance on my part has been entirely approved by my Government, and appreciated and acknowledged by the Government of the Tycoon.

A different course proposed at the moment to be adopted in the excitement attending the barbarous outrage, might have resulted in the capture and, perhaps, death by summary retribution of Shimadzu Saburo himself.

Ten months have now elapsed since the perpetration of this unprovoked outrage, during which period my Government has been duly informed by me of the circumstances attending it, while the Tycoon's Ministers have held out to me from time to time assurance and hopes that the murderers would be given up by your Highness, according to the Tycoon's desire, and sent to Yedo for trial and execution.

But I have had occasion to report to my Government that, removed in your distant domain from the direct influence of the Japanese Government and shielded also by certain privileges and immunities

which belong to Daimios of this Empire, you have utterly disregarded all orders or decrees of the Japanese Government calling upon you to afford justice by sending the real criminals to Yedo. They have not been arrested or sent: and no redress has consequently been afforded by the Tycoon's Government, however desirous it may be of doing so.

In the meanwhile I have received the explicit instructions of my Government how to act in this matter. The Tycoon's Government may be impeded by the laws of the country and more specially by political embarrassments, from enforcing its desires upon Daimios of the Empire in regard to criminal acts committed by their adherents. But when British subjects are the victims of these acts, Japan as a nation must—through its Government—pay a penalty and disavow the misdeeds of its subjects to whatever rank they may belong.

Under instructions from my Government I demanded from the Tycoon's Government an apology and the payment of a considerable penalty for permitting the murderous attack made by your retainers on British subjects passing on a road open to them by treaty. Both these demands have been acccded to.

But the British Government has also decided that these circumstances constitute no reason why the real delinquents and actual murderers should he shielded by your Highness, or by any means escape the condign punishment which they merit and which they would be subjected to for great crimes, such as they have committed, in all other parts of the world.

It has thereupon been determined by my Government, and I am instructed to demand of your Highness as follows:—

*First.* The immediate trial and capital execution, in the presence of one or more of H.M.'s naval officers, of the perpetrators of the murder of Mr. Richardson and of the murderous assault upon the lady and the two gentlemen who accompanied him.

*Second.* The payment of £25,000 sterling to be distributed among the relations of the murdered man and those who escaped with their lives the swords of the assassins on that occasion.

These demands are required by H.M.'s Government to be acceded to by you immediately upon their being made known to you, and upon your refusing, neglecting, or evading to do so, the Admiral commanding the British forces in these seas will adopt such coercive

measures—increasing in their severity as he may deem expedient—to obtain the required satisfaction and redress.

The Commander of Her Majesty's ships-of-war charged with the delivery of this letter is made acquainted with the specific demands which I have the honour to communicate to you in this letter; and, according as they are accepted or refused, he has received instructions either to carry out and witness their execution within a period of days which will be named, or, in the event of a refusal, to commence at once coercive operations pending the arrival of additional forces.

Your Highness is, therefore, earnestly requested seriously to consider the course you will adopt upon receipt of this communication, the terms of which it is not in my power to modify, alter, or discuss. I avail myself of this occasion to offer to your Highness the assurance of my respect and consideration.

(Signed.) E. St. John Neale,
H. B. M.'s *Chargé d'Affaires*,
In Japan.

The following extract from the same newspaper purports to be the translation of the reply to the above by the Prince of Satsuma's Minister, Kawakami Tajima:—

It is just that a man who has killed another should be arrested and punished by death, as there is nothing more sacred than human life; and although we should like to secure them (the murderers) as we have endeavoured to do since last year, it is impossible for us to do so, owing to the political differences at present existing between the daimios of Japan, some of whom even hide and protect such people.

Besides, the murderers are not one but several persons, and therefore, they find easier means of escape.

The journey to Yedo (undertaken by Shimadzu Saburo) was not with the object of committing murders, but to conciliate the two Courts of Yedo and Kioto, and you will, therefore, easily believe that our master (Shimadzu) could not have ordered it (the murder). Great offenders against the law of their country (Japan) who escape, are liable to capital punishment. If therefore we can detect those in question, and, after examination, find them to be guilty, they shall be

punished, and we will then inform the Commanders of your men-of-war at Nagasaki or at Kanagawa, in order that they may come to witness their execution.

You must, therefore, consent to the unavoidable delay which is necessary for the carrying out of these measures. If we were to execute criminals condemned for other offences, and told you that they were the offenders (above referred to) you would not be able to recognize them; but this would be deceiving you and not acting in accordance with the spirit of our ancestors.

The (provincial) governments of Japan are subordinate to the Yedo Government; and as you are well aware, subservient to the orders received from it. We heard something about a Treaty having been negotiated in which a certain limit was assigned to Foreigners to move about in; but we have not heard of any stipulation by which they are authorized to impede the passage of a road.

Supposing this happened in your country to one travelling with a large number of Retainers as we do here; would you not chastise (push out of the way and beat) any one thus disregarding and breaking the existing laws of the country?

If this were neglected, Princes could no longer travel. We repeat that we agree with you that the taking of human life is a very grave matter.

On the other hand the insufficiency of the Yedo Government, which governs and directs everything, is shown by its neglecting to insert in the treaty (with Foreigners) the laws of the country (in respect to these matters) which have existed from ancient times. You will, therefore, be able to judge for yourself whether the Yedo Government (for not inserting the laws) or my master (for carrying them out) is to be blamed.

To decide upon this important matter, a high official of the Yedo Government and one of our Government ought to discuss it before you, and find out who is in the right. After the above question has thus been judged and settled, the money indemnity shall be arranged.

We have not received from the Tycoon any instructions or communication by steamer to the effect that your men-of-war were coming here. Such statements are probably made with the object of representing us in a bad light. If it were not with this object you

would certainly have them in writing from the Shogun; and if so, we request you to let us see them. In consequence of such misstatements great misunderstandings are caused. All this surprises us much Does it not surprise you? Our Government will act in everything according to the orders of the Yedo Government. This is an open-hearted reply to the different subjects mentioned in your dispatch.

(Dated) 29th day of the 6th month of the 3rd Year of Bunkiu.

*August 21st.* This morning one of the local papers has the following:—

The *Cormorant* has just arrived with the mail. She fell in with the fleet and brings the following intelligence:—On Saturday last at 12 noon, while anchored in Kagoshima Bay, the Japanese opened fire unexpectedly upon the fleet, while a heavy gale was blowing. The casualties are unfortunately numerous—Captain Josling and Commander Wilmot were killed with one and the same shot. Killed and wounded, 60.

All the ships have suffered more or less. The fleet is returning here, and is now near at hand. We give the following interesting particulars just received from our own correspondant. The batteries opened fire on us at 12, noon, on the 15th. The Admiral immediately made signal—"Burn prizes." Three Japanese steamers (screw)—late *England, Sir Geo. Gray,* and *Contest*—were set on fire. These vessels had been taken in the morning and anchored closed to the squadron. When the batteries opened fire, the squadron weighed and formed in line of battle and attacked the forts at about 500 to 600 yards range.

The fire from the forts was very good and heavy—from 60 to 70 guns firing 10-inch shell, and 12 and 24-pound shot. Capt. Josling and Commander Wilmot were both killed by a shot on the bridge at 2.55 p.m. A 10-inch shell exploded on the main deck, killing 7 men and wounding Lieutenant Jephson and five men. The weather was very bad, the wind blowing strong and directly on shore, and raining. 3. p.m. the town caught fire. 3.20 p.m. the fleet hauled out of action. 7.15 p.m. the gun-boat *Havoc* set fire to 5 junks (Loochew junks). 9.20 p.m. we observed the factories and foundries to be on fire. Fire burning in town all night; also junks and factories blazing.

*August 16th.* At 3.30 p.m. we weighed and steamed for entrance.

Opened fire with shot and shell on town and batteries. Only two forts returned the fire. Anchored out of range of forts. Midnight the town still burning.

List of killed and wounded:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Euryalus* .... | 10 killed and | 21 | wounded. |
| *Pearl* ..... | 7 ,, | 7 | ,, |
| *Coquette*..... | 6 ,, | 1st Lieut. wounded, since died. | |
| *Persias* ..... | 1 ,, | 2 | wounded, since died. |
| *Race-horse*.... | 2 ,, | 2 | ,, |
| *Havoc*..... | none ,, | none | |

When the above was read by the foreign community all were greatly excited, not knowing how long the situation would continue.

*August. 26th.* The morning's paper gives further particulars of the battle at Kagoshima:—

On the 13th the fleet approached nearer to the town. A good number of junks were seen anchored close in shore. The squadron got where the Admiral desired.—About half-past 8 o'clock on Wednesday morning, and after anchoring, some of Satsuma's officials came on board to inquire, we fancy, what had brought the fleet there, and what the foreigners wanted. These officials undertook to carry to their master, or to his Lieutenant at Kagoshima, the demands of Great Britain, which Colonel Neale had ready, prepared in Japanese, Dutch and English. The British Minister gave them until two p.m. on the 13th, to reply: and about 3 p.m. on that day a high official—the Vice-Minister, as he was said to be—came off to the flag-ship, accompanied by a guard of 40 men, whom he insisted on seeing on board the *Euryalus* before he would venture there. He had not been long on board, when another boat was sent after him, with a message—which wrought an immediate change in the matter. He then stated that he could give no reply then nor could he say when he should be able to do so. On the same evening, however, at about 8 o'clock, this same official came on board the flag-ship again, and delivered a dispatch from Satsuma, or his Chief Minister, written in Japanese and addressed to Colonel Neale. * * * Satsuma's letter proved to be a very interesting one, although a most unsatisfactory reply to the demands

of Great Britain; and so much was intimated to the official who came off the next morning for the answer, and who was informed that a flag of truce ought in future to cover his visits to that vessel. * * *

It appears that Satsuma's Minister wrote to the effect that—"His August Master, previous to the arrival of the British fleet before Kagoshima, had no intimation given him by the Tycoon's Government of the demands which Great Britain was about to make upon him. That in regard to any money demands, the British Minister must address himself to the Government at Yedo, as he (Satsuma) could not decide on such a question as that without the sanction of the Tycoon's Ministers; that according to the Laws and Customs of Japan, he had done no wrong whatever; that in regard to the murder of Mr. Richardson on the Tokaido, he knew it to be a fact, but denied that Shimadzu Saburo had any hand whatever in the matter; that the man who causelessly murders another in Japan is amenable to punishment of the severest kind, and that, in this instance, he (Satsuma) had endeavoured to find the murderers, but so far they had evaded his authority; that if he had a mind to deceive the foreigners he could in an instant take some condemned criminals out of prison and hand them over to the Admiral as being the murderers of Mr. Richardson. But this deception his honor could not permit to be practised. That he was not bound by the Treaties of the Tycoon with foreigners; that these Treaties were contrary to the time-honored Laws of Gongen-sama; that the Tycoon alone was answerable in this case, as he had permitted foreigners to come into Japan contrary to law and custom, and granted them liberties which permitted them to interrupt and impede the movement of Japanese Princes on the high-roads; that if this were permitted to continue, it would soon be impossible for a Japanese Prince to travel through the country; that the attack on Mr. Richardson's party was not contrary to the Laws of Japan. And that therefore, his master (Satsuma) had done no wrong, and that under no circumstances could he, or would he, comply with any of the demands made by Great Britain.

The foregoing are, we believe, some of the most important point in Satsuma's reply, which resulted in the movements so well described by our correspondent, and which ended in the burning of eight large vessels (three of them being valuable foreign-built steamers with costly cargoes of sugar on board); the blowing up of two or three powder

magazines; the disabling of several batteries, and the almost total reduction to ashes of the large city of Kagoshima—together with its factories and foundries, which as a whole, indicate the destruction of an immense amount of property—not to mention the number of those who must have been killed and wounded, in the batteries and the town.

It is further stated that the Satsuma official who went on board the flagship, said that he had been commissioned by his chief to invite the Admiral and Colonel Neale, with the whole of their respective staffs, to come on shore to the Palace, there to confer regarding the the demands made upon Satsuma. This, of course was declined. It has since transpired, says rumour, that this was an attempt to lead the Admiral, the Minister and others, into a snare; and that if they had gone on shore as invited to do, every arrangement had been made for their seizure, by the lifting of draw-bridges, &c. And if this were effected, word would have been sent off to the squadron that the captives would be beheaded the moment a shot was fired at the town by any of the ships.

If the intended treachery proved successful, the captives were to be imprisoned at Kiri-shima, another town or stronghold of Satsuma's, some fifty miles inland.

*August* —. About this time, a great land boom has just set in in Yokohama. It began with a certain lot on the Bund, which together with the bungalow and stone go-down upon it my friend Mr. C—— had bought ni 1861 for $4,500. One day while we were at tiffin—I was messing with C—— at the time—a broker came in and wanted to see my friend in the office. So C—— excused himself and went into the office in the front of the building. He came back a good deal excited. "Heco!" he exclaimed, "what do you think the broker wanted

to see me about?" I replied that I had no idea. "Why," he said, "he has offered me the enormous seem of $20,000 for this piece of ground. "Only, just think! In England with such a sum one can buy hundreds of acres and get a handsome revenue from the investment. What is he up to? Shall I accept, or wait for further developments?" I advised my friend to accept it, free of commission. C—— told the broker to come again at 2 p.m., when he would give a definite answer. At that hour the bargain was closed and the lot changed hands for $20,000 nett. When the news of the transaction spread, everybody in the foreign community began to ask what the meaning of this was? But no one could give any answer to the question. However, in spite of this, many residents began to speculate in land in the dark, and most of them had their fingers badly burnt in consequence.

*September 17th.* Intelligence has just reached Yedo that the supporters of the Mikado are preparing to march upon the Kwanto with intent to overthrow the Shōgun's Government.

It is also stated that the Shōgun's Government has notified the Foreign Representatives that Asano Iga-no-Kami has been dismissed from his post as Governor of Kanagawa and that Sakai Wokio-no-Suke has been released from his office of Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs. This, say the Japanese,

on account of their friendliness towards foreigners, which has caused the Mikado's Government to request their removal.

*September 18th.* Still more disquieting intelligence. At Yedo, some five days ago, one of the leading raw-silk dealers was killed by the *Rōnin*, who lay the rise in price of that commodity to his charge. The Shōgun's Government have added seven more *Daimio* to the *Gorōjiu*, or Council of State, on account of the critical condition of affairs.

*September 20th.* A most startling and gruesome piece of news has just come to hand from Kiōtō. At the dawn of the 25th day of the 7th moon a head, apparently just cut off, was found stuck on a wooden pole at the Western end of the Sanjo-bridge in that city. As daylight came on the grisly object was recognised as the head of Yamatoya Wohe, one of the leading merchants of Kiōtō. Below the head the following notice was affixed to the pole:—

"Genjiro, Hikotaro, Ichi-jiro and Shobé, these four persons were not at home when this occurrence took place, but the Mikado's punishment which they have merited shall be meted out to them hereafter. A few years ago, the Shōgun made treaties with outside nations without the consent of the Sovereign (the Mikado). And these people,

taking advantage of these treaties, have been dealing largely with foreigners and made much profit, without considering or caring how much others suffered by reason of their conduct. They have trafficked in copper cash, silk, wax, oil, salt, tea,—in fact in all the staples of the land, in articles necessary for the use of the people of the country. They have bought them up and sent them to Nagasaki, and Kanagawa or Yokohama, and there sold them to foreigners for their own gain. By so doing they have enhanced the price of all articles and all but themselves suffer. Many in the interior are pinched as in time of famine; families can no longer live in one place together; households are broken up and scattered; many have died from sheer want of food. On account of all this, we can no longer remain blind to the sufferings of the people.

"It may be asked why we wish to punish people who traded with foreigners under licence from the Shōgun's Government. We make answer that it is because they have forgotten their obligations to their country and to their Sovereign—because of their selfishness and indifference to the welfare of Japan —because, instead of regarding the suffering of their fellow-countrymen and giving heed to the warning of the Mikado, they have associated with the Shōgun's officers and traded with foreign bar-

barians. The Bakufu officials are below the brute beasts, and the mischief they have compassed is more than we can tell of. We, in our persons, represent the suffering people of Dai Nippon, and in their names we have put Yamatoya Wohé to death. 23rd of 7th moon."

"*N.B.*—Take note all those who may disregard the above warning in Osaka, Nagasaki, Jōshū, Ida, Nagahama, Oshū, Woji, and in all places, East and West—We the *Rōnin* shall watch and investigate the conduct of all merchants, and shall exterminate all those who deal with foreigners. Those who shew even the smallest liking for foreign people shall be dealt with even as this Yamatoya Wohé has been dealt with. Whoever owes money to this Yamatoya need not take the trouble of repaying it. Should the Governor of Kiōto make any stir in the matter, debtors ought to make the fact known to us by putting a written notice in his place. And as for the Governor and his minions, they shall be served after the fashion of this Yamatoya Wohé."

*September 23rd.* The steamer *Scotland* arrived with twelve high officials from Satsuma, to negotiate with the British authorities about their demands. It is also stated that the American steamer *Monitor*, from Yokohama to China, touched at Kagoshima and was well received by

the Satsuma people. The officials who came in the *Scotland* told some of the residents that in the engagement with the English fleet at Kagoshima, their casualties amounted to but one killed and 20 or 30 wounded!

*September 30th.* Received intimation from Washington that my resignation of the office of Interpreter to the U.S. Consulate at Kanagawa had been accepted. Accordingly I left the Consulate and again started in business in Yokohama.

## II.

*October 10th.* Intelligence has just arrived from Kiōto to the effect that on the night of the 3rd inst. an unsuccessful *coup d'état* had been attempted by the Chōshu clan.

It appears that the Mikado had been requested by his courtiers to make a visit to the tombs of his ancestors at Kasuga in Nara, and to the Ise temples, to offer up prayers for the success of those commissioned to expel all foreigners from the soil of Japan. The Mikado had acceded to this request, and the ceremonies had been duly fixed for the 30th September. All preparations for the journey had been made, and the cortége was just on the point of setting out when the Emperor suddenly announced his intention to postpone his departure. And this it would seem for no insufficient reason.

It had been arranged that the Chōshiu clan was to furnish His Majesty's escort on this occasion. Shortly before the time appointed for beginning the journey, one of the Chōshiu men told some of the courtiers that it was the intention of the escort to

seize the person of the Mikado and carry him off. He was then to be compelled to dismiss the Tokugawa family from its tenure of the Shogunate and to appoint Chōshiu Generalissimo of the Empire.

Following swiftly on the disclosure of the plot, an order came to the Chōshiu clansmen telling them to depart from Kiōto forthwith, inasmuch as their services were no longer required by the Mikado. This order infuriated the clansmen, and on the night of the 2nd inst. they assaulted the Palace. The fight lasted all through the following day, for although the Chōshiu party amounted to only some few hundred men, they had two pieces of artillery and were exceedingly well armed. Their object, of course, was to gain possession of the person of the Mikado at all risks, but during the turmoil of the assault upon his Palace, the Sovereign escaped to a place of safety. It was the Aidzu men who bore the brunt of the Chōshiu attack, proving foemen truly worthy of their steel. But had it not been for the timely arrival of Hosokawa, and the men of several other clans who, combined, ultimately drove Chōshiu out of the city, it is hard to say what might not have happened. At the time when the messenger left Kioto order once more reigned in the old capital.

*October 14th.* The Governor of Kanagawa sent a circular notice to all the Consuls requesting

them to meet at his office at once. The Consuls went, and were informed that the Governor had heard that a French officer had been attacked and killed by three unknown persons at Idogaya, a village a little way off the Tōkaidō, some three miles from Yokohama. The Consuls at once hurried off to the spot, and on the way they met the Interpreter to the French Legation, who told them that the news was only too true. As soon as this Interpreter had reached his Legation, the French Minister with fifty or sixty Marines went out for the body and brought it in, attended by many of the residents who had hastened out to the scene of the tragedy. It seems that the young officer (Lieut. Camus) had gone out riding alone, when the miscreants fell upon him. He was buried on the afternoon of the following day, his funeral being attended by all the Foreign Ministers and Consuls, the Admirals, Marines, almost all the foreign residents, and a considerable number of Japanese. This tragedy threw quite a gloom over the whole community of Yokohama.

*October 15th.* It is reported that there was a meeting of Daimio in the Shōgun's Castle at Yedo on the 10th inst. At this meeting the majority held that it was utterly impracticable to drive foreigners from the country, and urged that Sakai Wata-no-Kami should be sent as an

Ambassador to the Mikado's Court to discuss with his Ministers this question of the expulsion of foreigners. These resolutions were submitted to the Shogun's Council of State, which ratified them, and requested Sakai to set out on his mission forthwith. He accordingly left Yokohama on the steamer *Kan-rin-maru* on the 13th, and on the same day the Prince of Owari started on the *Lyee-moon* for Choshiu to settle, if possible, the difficulties then pending between the Daimio of that district and the Shogun's Government.

*October 19th.* A meeting of the diplomatic body was held at the French Legation to devise more efficient means of protecting foreigners than existed. Among other things it was decided to establish armed patrols of from 10 to 30 men with an officer, for the safety of those who went outside the settlement for exercise or other purposes. The patrols were to choose their own roads from day to day, according to circumstances. Their duty was to protect foreign pedestrians and riders and to arrest any suspicious-looking Japanese, bring them into town and deliver them to their respective Consuls for examination. The English and the French have agreed to furnish a patrol on two days of the week each, the American, Dutch and Prussian on one day each per week.

*October 20th.* During the last few days, it is reported Yedo merchants have been constant victims of outrage at the hands of lawless men, and much astonishment is expressed at the non-interference of the city authorities, who simply pay no attention whatsoever to these attempts at establishing a reign of terror. This circumstance leads many of the natives to the belief that the Shōgun is impotent to control these *Rōnin*, who are evidently secretly aided and abetted by some of the Daimio. It is also common report that most of these *Rōnin* are from the Province of Hitachi.

It is rumoured in the native town that a few days ago a notice was posted on Nihon-bashi, the principal bridge in Yedo, making boast that the writer had succeeded in cutting down a foreigner. The natives believe that this refers to the murder of the French officer at Idogaya. But it has afforded no clue to the discovery and arrest of any of the miscreants who perpetrated that atrocious outrage.

*October 22nd.* In the native town it is reported that on the night of the 19th inst. the following notice was posted on the gate of the Governor's residence on Noge Hill :—

In I-chome, Kaiya, Iwashiya, and Yorodzuya.
In Ni-chome, Takasuya, Musashiya, Idzukura, Enamiya, Ekiya, Isetoku, and Obashiya.
In San-chome, Sugimuraya, Takashimaya, and Moriya.

In Shi-chome, Yoshimuraya, Nozawaya, Fujiya, Hizenya, Enshuya, and Echigoya.

In Go-chome, Hashimotoya, Yamatoya, Iseya, Takaradaya, and Akashiya.

Inasmuch as you have been dealing largely with foreigners, and thereby brought misery to many of your countrymen and utterly forgotten their true interest, and exhibited your indifference to those who are suffering greatly from the present state of things; We, the *Rōnin*, intend to punish you as we have already punished others in Yedo and elsewhere.

Before the posting of this notice five native houses in Benten-dōri, for unexplained reasons, had closed their premises on the 13th, while in the 5th ward one house was closed on the 15th, and another on the 18th, and on the 21st Iwashiya, Echigoya and Izukura's places were shut.

*October 23rd.* A letter from a Kiōto silk-merchant to his agent here gives the following account of the occurrences of the 3rd inst. in the Mikado's capital:—

The House of Chōshiu and some *kuge* (court nobles) formed a plot to overthrow the Tokugawa Shōguns, but it was discovered in time to prevent its being carried out. The affair has caused the greatest excitement in Kiōto and the neighbourhood.

In the 7th month the Chōshiu clan insisted that the Mikado should issue an order to all the *Daimio* of the Empire to expel all foreigners from the sacred soil of Japan, and the Mikado consented to their request and issued the order in question. Early in the 8th month, the *Daimio* of Echizen, who among others had received the order, hastened to Kiōto at the head of 10,000 armed retainers to see the Mikado in person in order to persuade him to countermand it, since he believed it was impossible for any *Daimio* or *Daimios* combined to execute such a command. His approach to Kiōto was impeded by the manœuvres of the Mikado's party, who issued orders to all the post-stations on the road not to supply any coolies for the

transport of Echizen's baggage. Now, inasmuch as *Daimio* bring their own equipage with them, and are dependent upon the services of the post-station coolies for its transport, this interfered seriously with Echizen's speedy advance. However, he and his men at last neared the gateway of Kiōto, only to find it barred by 1,500 Chōshiu troops. Accordingly, to avoid a conflict with them he halted without the city, and took up his quarters on Hi-yei-zan in the Temple of Ko-dai-ji, where the Taiko's mother was buried. However, some Chōshiu men stole up and fired the neighbouring forest and brushwood, and Echizen thereupon saw fit to remove to the Kinmenji and to encamp his men on the West of the Rokugo.

Meanwhile, it is said, the three great *Daimio* of Hizen, Chikuzen and Higo had acknowledged receipt of the order to expel all foreigners, and like Echizen had protested against it as being utterly impracticable. They even went so far as to say that in case the Mikado's Ministers insisted on the execution of the order they (i.e. Hizen, Chikuzen and Higo) would withdraw from the Central Government. This was serious, but the discovery of the Chōshiu plot was still more so. It was now regarded as certain that while Chōshiu publicly declared his purpose was to expel all foreigners from Kanagawa and Yokohama his real and true intent was to march upon Yedo, kill the reigning Shōgun, and declare himself ruler of the eight provinces of the Kwanto.

Upon the discovery of the plot the Mikado announced the postponement of his visit to the tombs of his ancestors, and at the same time requested the Prince of Aidzu to repair to the Palace at once. There the Mikado consulted him as to how he could countermand his order for the expulsion of foreigners, and at the same time drive the Chōshiu men out of Kiōto. The Prince replied that though his force then in the place was smaller than Chōshiu's, he would undertake to protect the person of the Mikado if His Majesty meant to be the true friend of the Tokugawa. All that was necessary was an Imperial order for the Chōshiu men to deliver up the six gates of the city to him (Aidzu) and to retire from Kiōto.

Upon this the Mikado issued an order to the effect "*that the six gateways now guarded by the Chōshiu men shall be given up to the men of Aidzu, who shall guard the city.*" This order was executed on the 17th day of the 8th month, and on the following day an Imperial decree was issued informing the Chōshiu troops that "their services

were no longer required and that they were to leave the city of Kiōto forthwith." This order roused the Chōshiu clansmen to frenzy, and towards evening they appeared before the Palace some 1,500 or 1,600 strong, well furnished with fire-arms and swords, and opened upon it with two pieces of artillery they had brought with them.

The Palace soon caught fire, and this spreading rapidly, the neighbouring parts of the city soon became a raging, roaring sea of flames. The Aidzu men held their posts with the utmost courage, and met the mettlesome Chōshiu onset with dogged determination. For full two hours they bore up against superior numbers with all the ferocity of wild-cats, and then Echizen and Higo came up with some 6,000 men. It was now the turn of the Chōshiu men to put the courage of despair into their blows; they fell back, yielding but a step at a time, and eventually withdrew from the city in fairly good order, but with heavy loss. At the first shot the Mikado had escaped from the Palace and found shelter elsewhere, well protected by the Shogun's forces.

"It is reported," says the letter, "that eighteen *Kugé* (Court nobles) of high rank were implicated in the plot; of these thirteen escaped with the Chōshiu men in the confusion of the fight, while five remain in the custody of the Aidzu guard."

*October 23rd.* This afternoon it was reported that in Yamato some *Rōnin* had attacked the Governor's residence and killed 36 men.

*October 24th.* Another letter from a Kiōto silk-merchant to his Yokohama agent states:

The plot planned by Chōshiu in conjunction with some *Kugé* to overthrow the Tokugawa Shōgunate was frustrated by its timely discovery. The Shōgunate officers have arrested, tried and sentenced the following *Kugé* implicated in the conspiracy:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Kujo,—Ni-i-do-no, Kwan-paku .. | These persons were highest in the Ministry of the Mikado; to be expelled from the city of Kioto for ever. |
| Kujo,—Ni-i, Saki-no Nai-dai-jin.. | |
| Chikusa,—Saki-no Chiu-jo ..... | |
| Iwakura, Saki-no Chiujo ..... | To be exiled for ever. |
| Awa-Kōji, Nakatsukasa Tayu.... | |
| Fū-ji, Shiki-bu ..... | |

| | |
|---|---|
| A daughter of Yamatono Tsubouć. (She was the attendant on the Mikado.) | To be imprisoned for life. |
| Chikusa Shosho (a girl)<br>Oshi-no Kōji (the father to the above girl) | These are to be confined to their respective houses. |
| Bu-ji, Daina-gon<br>Hiro-hashi, Dai-na-gon | These are to be dismissed from their offices and stripped of their ranks and titles and imprisoned in their own houses. |
| Naka-mura Shozan<br>Yamato Watari | These, of lower rank, are now under examination. |
| Yama-moto Géki | A Minister of Kujo; to be sent to a convict island. |
| A daughter of Hori-ku-wa Ji-jiu...<br>Gon-saku-no Tsubouć | These are to be confined to their respective houses for a specified time. |
| Ane-no-kōji Ni-i<br>Iwakura Dai-tsu | Under examination. |
| Chiu-jo, Ni-shi-no Tsubouć<br>Hori-ku-wa, Nai-shin-no Tsubouć. | Degraded. |
| Iwakura, Chin-jo<br>Chikusa, Chiu-jo<br>Ané-no-koji, Nakatsukasa Sho-yu. | These three persons to be stripped of their ranks and titles, and compelled to enter the priesthood. |
| Naka-yama, Dai-na-gon<br>Sanjo, Daina-gon | These persons, said to have been members of 2nd Council of State of the Mikado, to be suspended from their offices. |
| Kō-ka, Dai-na-gon..... | To be disgraced and exiled for ever. |
| A daughter (of Yamato) Tosa-no Tsubouć. | To be sent to a convict island. |

The above named, so far up to date, the Government had sentenced.

*October 25th.* This morning official confirmation has been received of the Ronins' attack on the Governor's residence in Yamato province on the 26th day of the 8th moon (October).

TRANSLATION.

Taka-tori, in Yamato, 2nd day of 9th moon.

The undersigned begs to inform the Government of the Shogun that at an early hour on the 26th ult. about 1,000 *Rōnins* advanced from the town of Gojo and attacked my residence in Taka-tori in this province. As soon as we heard the drum and horns, we prepared for immediate defence, and fought for several hours. At length we defeated the enemy completely, and captured 50 prisoners, 16 pistōls, 7 heads, 1 helmet, 19 bows, 1 suit of armour, 36 muskets, 68 swords, 2 large paper-lanterns, and a servant's garment with a certain crest on it. The above-named articles are truly in our possession. Our casualties were two men slightly wounded. As for the enemy, those unhurt fled. Those 50 we took as prisoners are wounded and had no time to flee; we captured them.

(Signed) WOYE MURA SURUGA-NO-KAMI.
Governor of the Province of Yamato.

In the afternoon it was reported that on the 23rd instant at Fujisawa, a town, about 5 *ri* from Yokohama, on the Tokaido, 16 *Rōnins* had appeared, ten of whom left for Totsuka, while 6 still remain. This was reported to the Governor of Kanagawa by the town authorities, whereupon the former despatched 50 armed men to arrest the outlaws.

*October 26th.* To-day news came to hand that at length the Shōgun proposed to make a visit to the Mikado in order to consult about the punishment of the *Rōnins* of Chōshiu and Satsuma—the former for firing on the Palace of Mikado, and the latter for firing on the English fleet at Kagoshima.

The Government has appointed the following *Daimios* to guard the city during the Shōgun's

absence: Matsu-daira, Nakatsukasa-no-Tayu, and Makino Tōtomi-no-Kami, are to guard the Shōgun's Castle with the moat-gate. O-kubo Kaga-no-Kami, Sakai Shigeno-jo, Yanagisawa Shutaro, Katō Yamato-no-Kami, Matsudaira Ise-no-Kami, Matsudaira Tamba-no-Kami, Inaba Wokio-no-Suke, Hosokawa Wakasa-no-Kami, Hori Yamato-no-Kami and Matsudaira To-tomi-no-Kami, are to guard the city. Inagaki Wakasa-no-kami, Takagi Mombu-no-sho are to guard Shinagawa, Abe Inaba-no-kami to watch the Itabashi-kaidō, and others the two remaining great roads from Yedo to Oshiu, and the Tokaido outlet. It is reported that early this morning a U.S. ship sailed up Yedo Bay with the U.S. and Dutch Ministers on board. They had been requested to go to Yedo to receive an important communication from the Shogun's Government. In the afternoon we observed that the shop of Takaradaya, a large timber-dealer and contractor, was closed, and advertised for sale. Upon inquiry, we learned that, owing to the disturbances in Yedo and from apprehension of deadly risk, the firm had seen fit to close its branch in Yokohama for good.

*October 27th.* The U.S. and Dutch Ministers have returned from Yedo. It seems that the *Gorōjiu* requested them to order their countrymen to withdraw from Yokohama to Hakodate or Nagasaki for a time at least, inasmuch as the

presence of foreigners in such close proximity to the capital causes much trouble among the people in Yedo by reason of the great rise in price of articles of necessity. The local newspaper gives the following report of the conversation at the interview :—

"But," said the *Gorōjiu*, "if trade continues to be carried on in Yokohama, a revolution will ensue in the country. Therefore the trade must be transfered to Hakodate and Nagasaki." The Ministers naturally asked if the Government were not able to put down any such revolution as they said threatened the country.

The *Gorōjiu* answered—"That it was a very great disgrace to Japan to have to confess it, but they could not." The *Gorōjiu* further added that they had appointed two plenipotentiaries (one of whom is Také-moto Kai-no-Kami, the name of the other our informant does not know, but believes that he is a very young governor) to tell the Ministers of Foreign Powers why foreigners must leave Yokohama and to negotiate the terms of their leaving.

The Ministers expressed their great surprise that on a subject of such vast importance the *Gorōjiu* had not communicated with the British and French Ministers. To this the *Gorōjiu* replied that they had communicated first with the Repre-

sentatives of Holland and of the United States, because the country had had intercourse with those nations first.

The Ministers, upon this, both replied that they should of course report this conversation to their respective Governments. "But," went on the *Gorōjiu*, "cannot the Ministers, or any of them, consent to give up the Settlement at Yokohama, without consulting their Governments? Foreigners could go to Nagasaki, and then the Treaties could remain in force. *The Treaties with Foreigners had only been made as an experiment to see if trade with foreigners would answer for Japan.*"

The *Gorōjiu*, being asked what steps had been taken towards bringing the Prince of Nagato to punishment for his recent attacks upon foreign vessels, answered, that nothing yet had been done, but that they were busily engaged over the matter; that "In Japan these things could not be done at once; it was in accordance with Japanese custom to proceed cautiously in matters like this."

The high officers present were:—Mizuno Izumi-no Kami, Itakura Suwo-no Kami (who was the principal spokesman), Mori Kawachi-no Kami, and Miura Totomi-no Kami.

*October 31st.* In the course of the day we noticed in Yokohama an unusual number of two-sworded men prowling about the town, many of

whom looked somewhat saucy. The native dealers say that they intend to shut their shops in a week's time, on account of a private hint they have received from the chief of the *Rōnin*.

It is said that on the 25th inst., three *Rōnin* went to Izukura, a large merchant in Yedo, and sought an interview with him. He was absent but they met his chief banto (clerk). They (*Rōnin*) said that they came to see him on a confidential matter and asked to be led into a private inner room. When they were seated there the spokesman said: "We are the leaders of 300 men, now quartered behind the city, ready to fall upon those who refuse to obey our orders. At present we come as friends to give you timely warning of what may befall you, if you do not refrain from all further dealings with the foreigners in Yokohama. You must be aware that since these foreigners have come into the country the price of every commodity has risen greatly, that in consequence all classes are suffering, and that the country is on the verge of ruin. The Shōgun has no power to protect you, since we hold orders direct from our Sovereign, the Mikado. We are a very different stamp of men from those who behaved so badly in Kiōto some weeks ago. Our purpose is to help those who are suffering from misery and starvation. We therefore advise you to desist from all further dealings with those

outsiders. And now be careful and give heed to our warning." After this speech, the *Rōnin* got up and went away quietly.

In the afternoon we heard that on the 30th inst. 10 or 15 *Daimio* had been ordered to Ōsaka, there to be in readiness to march upon Chōshiu and reduce him to obedience. It is also reported that the Shōgun has left Yedo in the *Lyee-moon* for Ōsaka *en route* for Kiōto.

*November 2nd.* The English despatch-boat *Racehorse* has arrived from Nagasaki and reports all quiet in the South. She touched at Kagoshima, where she heard that the Japanese casualties in the late engagement there amounted to 1,200 killed and wounded. Satsuma's men said that they had had quite enough of fighting with foreigners and had no desire for another encounter with them.

One day while we were at tiffin, our carpenter came in and said that while clearing away the old hut for the foundation of the new house his men had discovered a hoard of dollars. We went to the place, and to our surprise we found over $2,000 wrapped up in packages of $50 and $100, buried under the refuse-pile. My friend, who owned the land, delivered the money to his Consul for investigation. The latter issued a notice to the effect that those who had had money stolen should come to the Consulate by a certain day and state

the amount of their loss. Many people went and stated their losses, real or fictitious. Among them, a Mr. J——'s statement was nearest to the amount we had found, so the whole of the money was handed to him. But Mr. J. carefully forgot to reward the honesty of the finders even with a ten-cent piece. He left virtue to be its own reward, although my friend had hinted to the carpenters that they would doubtless be remembered by the owner of the dollars.

*November 4th.* This morning's paper had a sharp attack on a certain foreign official for applying for a monthly exchange for an official friend of his who was then on a visit to the country, but who does not hold any office here. This attack was the subject of much comment in the community. It would seem that all nationalities, without distinction, are exceedingly keen on the lucrative "Exchange" business.

*November 12th.* To-day, the Shōgun's Government notified all the Foreign Representatives that the notice issued by the Gorojiu Ogasawara, ordering the closure of the port of Yokohama, had been withdrawn, and that it asked them to return the document in question.

The local newspapers print the following:—

A number of Satsuma officers waited upon the British Minister to request an audience on behalf of that Prince. They were conducted to the British Legation by some of the Tycoon's officers attached to the Government of Kanagawa. Colonel Neale granted their request,

and appointed Monday, the 9th instant, for their reception. They came at the appointed hour, and opened their business by intimating that they wished to discuss the circumstances of the difficulty between their master and Great Britain, and that they felt it would require much time and patience to do so.

Colonel Neale reminded them that the demands of Great Britain had already been communicated by him to the Prince of Satsuma, and that those demands could not be modified. He signified to them his willingness, however, to listen to all they had to say upon the subject. They then made the important statement, "that the Treaty of Peace between Great Britain and Japan was not for the Tycoon only, but that it embraced the whole of Japan; and that therefore they trusted and hoped Satsuma would be allowed to participate in the benefits resulting from it—that he does not wish for war, and that he was opposed to war from the beginning, × × × × × Satsuma's envoys were of opinion, that their master was not to blame for what took place at Kagoshima while the British squadron was there."

Col. Neale took up the dispatch which he received from Satsuma's minister at Kagoshima and reviewed all the circumstances. He pointed out the fact that the British squadron did not go to Kagoshima with any hostile intention against Satsuma, that the vessels had been three days anchored quite close under the batteries at Kagoshima, without having a single gun shotted, in any of the ships; that having waited several days, and having experienced a great deal of equivocation from Satsuma's people, the answer which he at last received in reply to his communication to the Prince was so unsatisfactory as to oblige him to construe it as a positive refusal of his demands; that it was not until after this unsatisfactory reply had been received that the squadron changed its anchorage, and seized Satsuma's ships, not with the intention of taking them, but to hold them as a guarantee for the payment of the penalty demanded; that this was not an act of hostility, but one of ordinary precaution such as was done elsewhere under like circumstances; that Satsuma was responsible, not only for the murder of Mr. Richardson, but also for having commenced hostilities by firing upon the squadron without the slightest warning, and that he was to blame for all that had occurred.

Satsuma's envoys stated that the authorities at Kagoshima be-

lieved that the squadron had commenced hostilities by the seizure of the ships; that they thought the ships were about to be taken away for good by the British squadron, and that, therefore, the batteries opened fire; but that there was no intention whatever to fire a shot if the ships had not been seized.

Col. Neale went minutely into the matter and dispelled many of their erroneous and partial notions upon the subject.

They then veered round to the subject of obstruction on the high road. They admitted that foreigners had a right to travel on the Tokaido, but not to obstruct the passage of a Prince's cortége. They asked, 'would not the laws of England punish a party who obstructs the passage of a cortége?" Col. Neale assured them that the beggar in England had as good a right to travel on the high-road as the King had; and that the simple rule of keeping to the right or to the left according to circumstances, was the only rule which was required to be observed in England and in most other parts of the world, and was the only one which foreigners could be required to conform to in Japan. After a good deal of quibbling and repetition, Satsuma's people admitted that even in Japan the utmost that could be done to a person not getting out of the way of a cortége would be to beat him mildly and force him out of the road, but not to kill him or do him grievous injury, and that wilful murder in Japan incurs the punishment of death.

Col. Neale observed that such is the punishment he demands for the murderers of Mr. Richardson. Satsuma's officers again intimated their wish to have several interviews in order to talk over—or to "discuss," as they say—that demand upon their master. Col. Neale said that he could not consent to this; that he would receive them once more, but only once; and that he would have had some difficulty in receiving them on this occasion if he had known that they had nothing definite and satisfactory to say upon the subject to which they referred, × × × × ×

The British Minister appointed Friday, the 13th inst., for their next meeting. It is stated that after the above interview Satsuma agreed to pay the $100,000 demanded on the 19th instant.

*November 20th.* It is reported that Satsuma's people failed to pay the indemnity promised on the previous date.

*November 25th.* This morning's paper states that the Yedo Government has intimated its willingness to pay the indemnity of $10,000 demanded from them by the U. S. Minister on behalf of the owner of the steamer *Pembroke* which was fired on by Chōshiu in the Suwo Nada, near the Straits of Shimonoseki.

It is reported in the native town, that on the 21st of the 9th moon, the *Gorōjiu* Itakura had issued the following order:—

To the *Daimios*, Ii-Kamon-no Kami, Matsudaira Hizen-no Kami, and Ogasawara Daizen-no Daibu—Having learnt that Matsu-daira Daizen-no Daibu, *Daimio* of Chōshiu, is now in opeu, active rebellion against the Mikado and the Shogun's Governments, that he has seized and insulted the Shogun's commissioners sent to inquire into the occurrences at Shimonoseki—that he has disobeyed the Mikado and made an attack on his Palace at Kioto—therefore, you are hereby commissioned and commanded to proceed to the South, or wherever Matsudaira Daizen-no Daibu may be, and call upon him to submit and to beg pardon for his misdeeds. And if he does not submit quietly to your authority, then you are commauded to take himself and every member of his family by force and bring them to Yedo for trial and punishment. If you find your force inadequate to take him, you are authorized to apply to Matsudaira Higo-no-Kami for additioual force and help. And if you find this still insufficient, then you are to apply to Hosokawa, Tachi-bana, Arima, Kuroda, Geishiu, Bizen and Inshiū to aid you to execute the order of the Shōgun.

*December 10th.* The morning paper states that the Satsuma envoys again visited the British Legation, Shimadzu Saburo himself being among them. After he was introduced as such, he was seated at the head of the others. At this confer-

ence they appointed the 11th inst. for the positive payment of the indemnity of $100,000, and they further signed an agreement that Satsuma would undeviatingly search for the murderers of Mr. Richardson and execute them in the presence of British Authorities appointed to witness the execution.

On the 11th, at noon the indemnity money was brought to the British Legation in hand-carts.

On the night of the 25th Dec., the Shōgun's Main Castle was burned to the ground, in consequence of which the local Government offices remained closed on the 26th.

*December 27th.* It is said among the Japanese that the Government at Yedo has forbidden all timber-dealers to sell timber to, or to make any contracts for building with foreigners until the Shōgun's Castle has been rebuilt.

The following letter is inserted inasmuch as it touches upon certain interesting phases of life in the Yokohama of '63.

Yokohama, 1st January, 1864.

*To the Editor of the* "JAPAN COMMERCIAL NEWS."

SIR,—Now that the eventful year of 1863 has passed away and we have entered upon the New Year of Grace 1864, we humbly venture to discuss in the columns of your journal some topics of public import which appear to have been hitherto overlooked not only by yourself, but also by your contemporary.

Let it be borne in mind by those who may choose to read these lines, that about the time of the next summer Solstice the term of Lord Elgin's famous Treaty of Yedo will expire by effluxion of time,

according to the puerile arguments put forth by the Japanese Government Authorities, who aver again and again, that they agreed to open the three ports of Nagasaki, Yokohama and Hakodate, by way of experiment only, in order to test the declarations, of the first instance, of Commodore Perry, and subsequently of every Foreign Representative with whom Treaties were concluded —that immense benefit would result to Japan from commerce with Foreign Nations.

His Excellency Takemoto Kai-no-kami is known to have stated in plain terms to the Foreign Representatives now resident at Yokohama, that the experiment of the Treaties has proved well-nigh disastrous to the Government of the Tycoon, and that the promised benefits derived therefrom by Japan and the Japanese are utterly visionary and wanting; and that such being the case, the Japanese Government (although willing to go on for a fresh term at the ports of Nagasaki and Hakodate) will protest before Europe and the Treaty Powers, against the keeping-open of the port of Yokohama, where the persons of Foreigners are unsafe and the protection afforded by the Tycoon, though admitted to be inadequate, still remains a source of enormous expenditure, difficulty and embarrassment to the temporal government of the country.

Further, that the presumed profits derivable from Customs Revenue, the Exchange of Coin, &c., supposed by the ignorant to be so large and lucrative, are yet in fact inadequate to the expenses incurred; to say nothing of the heavy indemnities already paid and the possibly still heavier for the time to come.

Most of your readers who take an interest in these matters are aware that the Tycoon is making arrangements to dispatch an Embassy to urge these points on the Courts of the several Treaty Powers and to offer them the alternative of restricting the Foreign trade to the two Ports of Nagasaki and Hakodate, or of enforcing the present Treaty obligations at the sacrifice of the peace and well-being of Japan and its people—for such, we believe, will be the problem propounded to the statesmen of the West and Far West.

Whether these Treaties will ultimately prove to be for the good or for the evil of Japan need not now be canvassed; but suffice it to say, it is fair to presume that the Japanese Government, both temporal and spiritual, will ere long be constrained to recognize the

binding nature of Treaty obligations between Nations, and when the hour of trial comes, may even discover that the terms and clauses of the Perry and Elgin Treaties are such as they might well have been content with.

Let us therefore at once address ourselves to the question of the Revisal of Treaties, which of a surety shall come to pass, if ever coming events cast their shadows before.

The clause giving power to levy twenty per-cent. on all articles of Import not enumerated in the Treaties of Yedo, we take to be oppressive, pernicious and highly restrictive in its working.

Take the Article of Raw Cotton, which about two years ago offered fair business to the Foreign Merchant to import from China. A few cargoes accordingly arrived, but the nascent business was quickly stifled by the 20 per-cent. clause; the stock for the greater part was held in suspense until released from bondage by a reduced impost of 5 per cent., and subsequently by the rebellion in America transforming the article from one of Import into Export.

The same difficulties continue to this day with the innumerable list of Medicine Stuffs, which China could readily and willingly supply in much larger quantities than hitherto has been the case, but for the ballasting clause of 20 per-cent.

Again, we will endeavour to show how injuriously this clause can work for Japan. Take the Article Salt, an important ingredient in the aliment of any people, but more especially in that of the inhabitants of Japan. There is no mention of either Raw or Manufactured Salt in the Treaties of Yedo and although the prices of the native production have been enhanced two, and perhaps three-fold, from causes unknown to us, but said to have been brought about by the vast quantities bought up and hoarded by the Daimios in anticipation of war—yet we humbly think that if the 20 per-cent. clause did not stand in the way, cargo upon cargo from the Mines could be disposed of at a fair profit by the English Merchant and to the incontestible gain and comfort of the mass of the Japanese people.

Let us now pass on to Copper, which everybody knows was once an article of considerable Export, but which by reason of its present extremely high cost has almost disappeared from the manifests of the outward-bound vessels to China and Europe. In this case, we would ask. what merchant dare venture to recommend a shipment of

Australian Copper to Japan, in the face of the twenty per-cent. clause? And so on to the end of the chapter.

Last but not least, let us pass in review the Currency Question, premising that we, like the true sailor, go for,

"Three Ichiboos to the dollar
And the Siller for ever."

We truly confess that we would like to get as much of the Tycoon's money in exchange for our dollars as the Admirals and their men or the Ministers and their Consuls. How often have we watched those stout, strong and hearty seamen during the dog-days of Yokohama, staggering, yes, literally staggering, under their loads of dollars, with the trim and sprightly pursers hard-bye, wending their way by the shortest of Cuts to the Treasury Department of the local Custom House; there to tell out their thousands of dollars, while a triple return in Ichiboos is being got ready by the hard-worked officials. Talk of the glorious days of '59! Why, Mr. Alcock's virtuous indignation would pale before the capacious appetite of the Hearts of Oak in the piping times of '63! No part of their duty is more punctually and scrupulously performed than is this labour of love by our stead-fast defenders.

As to Richardson's and the other indemnity money, why, we'll venture to say it's all been eaten in the getting.

To revert to the Treasury men. They struggled manfully and successfully to meet the heavy demands of people both ashore and afloat, until the Mediators and Peacemakers, let on with such a steep lot for the benefit of the local circulation, as obliged the Tellers of the establishment to close the doors until further notice—with augmented hopes of some day seeing the long-expected ships which are to blow the *Euryalus* out of the Water!

In conclusion, then, let us hope that the year now begun will see us through the worst of the troubles likely to attend the conflict between decrepit Feudalism and vigorous Commerce in Japan—a conflict which has been waged for centuries past in various parts of the Globe, with wavering success for the time being, it is true, but which has ever terminated in favor of the middle and lower classes, whose necessities for commerce as a means of livelihood and well-being in the long run admit of no denial and refuse to brook further delay.

We remain, Mr. Editor,

Your obedient Servants to command,

COMMERCE, CREDIT & CASH.

## III.

*February 5th.* The long-talked-of Japanese Embassy to Europe visited the French frigate *Semiramis*, to bid good-bye to the Admiral and to thank him on behalf of the Tycoon for placing the *Monge* at their disposal to convey them to Shanghai. At noon they left the *Semiramis* and proceeded on board the *Monge*, receiving a salute of 17 guns, which was answered by the Kanagawa fort, where the French flag was hoisted. This Embassy, which consists of two Senior Envoys Ikeda, Chikugo-no-Kami and Kawadzu, Idzumo-no-Kami, with Shibata Sadanawo as junior, and a suite of 15 or 16 other officers will visit the Courts of Paris, London and Berlin.

*February 6th.* The Swiss Ambassador, M. Aimé Humbert, left for Yedo accompanied by the Dutch officials who are to aid in making arrangements for the speedy signing of the Treaty with Switzerland. It is announced that the Tycoon has left Yedo for Ōsaka by sea *en route* for Kiōto, attended by 3,000 armed men and officers. It is

further stated that his visit is in order to receive a higher rank from the Mikado before be abdicates in favour of Hitotsubashi.

It would seem that *hara-kiri* is an institution that is not always appreciated by its victims as it should be. For instance, a local custom-house officer detected in aiding and abetting silk-smugglers exhibited the greatest reluctance to quit life by the Happy Despatch some five days ago. In truth, we are given to understand that it needed all the combined eloquence of his household and relatives and friends to induce him to take the step. They surrounded him in his own house, urging and imploring him to thus wash away his guilt, *and to preserve the hereditary income and rank of his family,* and, at last, after exhibiting the greatest reluctance, the smuggler allowed himself to be persuaded to do the deed. But it was sorely against the grain.

*February 9th.* The Yedo Government is said to have issued a notice to farmers and merchants to form military companies called *Shin-cho-gumi*, and to apply to the local authorities for instructions in the use of fire-arms.

*February 14th.* The Satsuma officials have arrived, and are reported to have made a final settlement of the Namamugi affair with the British authorities. On the following day they

bought the steamer *Fukeen* for $55,000 from an English firm.

*February 16th.* In the afternoon Consul Clarke and I went for a long walk, and on our return I found a Manila cigar-box addressed to me, with P.P.C. card of a certain Ambassador who had come to make a treaty with Japan, and having finished his business was about to return to his own country.

"Here," said I to Clarke, "M. H—— has sent me his promised cigars; they must be fine. We'll enjoy them after dinner." When I opened the box, I was surprised to find it half-full of ordinary Manila cheroots, with a few dollars wrapped up in an old newspaper, two small old French and English pocket-dictionaries, some pamphlets in German, and old papers to fill it up, but with no note or letter of explanation. So I said to Clarke that M. H—— must have sent me the wrong box by mistake, instead of the box of good cigars he had promised me a few days before for the services I had rendered him by translating the explanations of several pictures he had bought and explaining to him what others meant. Clarke, too, said that it must be a mistake as the Ambassador was aware that I knew no French or German, and that I had better send back the box with a note. So I wrote saying that he must have sent

me this box by mistake instead of the box of good cigars he had kindly promised me, since I had found not only cheroots, but also several other articles in it. M. H—— signed the chit-book acknowledging receipt of the box and of my note, but he never condescended to give me any reply.

*February 21st.* In consequence of friction between the silk-dealers' guild and the Government in Yedo, no silk has arrived in Yokohama for the last few weeks. However, the Government has now informed the dealers that silk may be sent to the Treaty Port subject to the levy of a small tax. This tax is to be accumulated until it can purchase 23,000 bales of rice, which are to be presented to the Mikado. No one seems to be able to give any satisfactory explanation of the meaning of this strange regulation.

*February 26th.* It is just reported that Yedo has been placarded by some unknown hand with notices forbidding any silk to be sent to Yokohama and threatening anyone sending it with a heavy penalty.

*March 2nd.* We have just heard from Kiōto that the manufacturers have begun to buy up all the raw silk of the "Ida" class, and that in consequence the price of this kind of silk has advanced to 700 *rio* per picul. Foreign piece goods are in great demand there, and the holders in Yokohama have raised their prices.

In the afternoon I was requested by the Governor of Kanagawa to call at his office, since he wished to see me on special business. When I went, he asked me whether I had seem anything in the foreign newspapers, or heard anything from foreigners respecting the Government contract with the U. S. Minister for three war-ships to be built in America. This contract had been made in Nov. 1862, and $600,000 had been paid by the Government in three instalments. "Now," said the Governor, "what we wish to know is whether these vessels are in the course of construction or not." I said that I was sorry I could not tell him, and asked him why he did not go direct and ask the gentleman who had made the contract, who is here on the spot. Thereupon I was told that the Governors of Foreign Affairs had asked him time and again and had always been answered that the vessels were being built and would soon be out. This has been the Minister's answer for the last year; he refused to give any information as to where they were being constructed or how far they had progressed. And the Japanese had now learned that there was, as yet, no vessel building for them at all!

*March 3rd.* We received news that the Shōgun had arrived at Kiōto on the 22nd ult. On his way he stopped 3 days at Uraga, and a like period

at Shimoda, and at these places had amused himself by hunting and fishing. At Yedo, all amusements are ordered to be suspended during the Shōgun's absence from the Capital.

*March 15th.* The Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs came from Yedo to congratulate the British Minister on his safe return from England.

*March 21st.* The previous evening two *Gorōjiu.* came down from Yedo and lodged at Kanagawa. This morning they went to the Governor's residence at Tobé, and there inspected the troops. In the afternoon they visited the British Legation. They were the highest authorities that so for had ever come to Yokohama. Before their arrival, the Governor had ordered the streets of Yokohama to be swept and watered and sand-banks piled here and there along their route from Tobé to the end of the native settlement in accordance with native custom in such cases.

*May 25th.* This morning the native population of Kanagawa and Yokohama became greatly excited over the appearance in the Bay of a huge three-decked ship with painted ports and a great swarm of men on board. It turned out to be the English transport *Conqueror*, which brings 530 marines to be stationed in Yokohama. It is reported that the British Minister has requested the Yedo Government to erect accommodation for

these men within 30 days. The barracks are to be on the Bluff, behind the Settlement.

*May 29th.* We hear from Kiōto that a new political party has been formed in that city. It is called the *Jo-i* party and its professed aim and object is the expulsion of foreigners from the sacred soil of Japan. We also learn that Shimadzu Saburo has been driven from the Western Capital by order of the Mikado, to punish his rude behaviour at his audience with the Emperor. The Prince of Echizen has resigned office and retired to his fief, on account of a difference of opinion with the Mikado's party. Prince Hitotsu-bashi has become quite a favourite with the above party and has been honoured with the appointment of Commander-in-chief of all the forces in Ōsaka.

In the afternoon my friend Dr. S——, physician to the late *Gorōjiu* Hotta, came in, and in answer to my query as to why the Kiōto authorities were so bent on expelling foreigners from the country, made the following statement :—

" Christianity was introduced into the country in the middle of the 16th Century and during the sway of Nobunaga (the Master of Taikō Hideyoshi) it was favoured by the authorities, and many churches were erected in various parts of the Centre and West of Japan. After the death of Nobunaga in 1582, Hideyoshi became ruler of the

country. He, too, tolerated Christianity till the ill-advised remark of a Spanish pilot, who said that 'Spain had got possession of many countries by sending the *padres* to prepare the way for her soldiers,' was reported to him. In consequence, he ordered all the priests to leave Japan, and in 1597, sixteen Christians were crucified at Nagasaki. In Iyeyasu's time there were 1,800,000 Christians in Japan, and as they gave help to Hideyori at Ōsaka in 1614, and were suspected of intriguing to overthrow the Tokugawas a few years later, the priests were again expelled and the native Christians bitterly persecuted. Then under Iyemitsu, the 3rd Tokugawa Shōgun, followed another plot, and in consequence, in 1637, several *Daimio*, having got orders to stamp out the Great Rebellion which had broken out at Shimabara, did so so effectually that Christianity entirely disappeared. Further in 1640 this Shōgun ordered that henceforth no more foreign vessels should be allowed to come to Japan, with the exception of one Dutch merchantman and two Chinese Junks which were annually allowed to enter the port of Nagasaki only.

"An exception in favour of the Dutch was made, because they have given timely information of the above-mentioned plot and had lent aid to crush the rebellion that followed, while the Chinese junks

were allowed to come because Japan owed her civilization in great part to China and had continued to trade with China for a long time before. The Dutch sent captains, officers and physicians and quartered them at the Deshima. The authorities soon discovered that the foreign doctors were far superior to the Japanese physicians, and as a consequence Japanese were allowed to learn as much of Dutch medical science as they could, although the native physicians practising Chinese medicine opposed this piece of liberality most bitterly. However certain of the *Daimio* and their retainers, more enlightened than others, encouraged the Dutch practice and the use of European medicine, and through the foreign literature the native students began to learn something of European laws and customs and civilization. And in turn, even certain of the *Daimio* had got to learn something of these foreign countries through these students, even before the arrival of Perry in 1853.

"The appearance of the American Squadron in Yedo Bay in that year of 1853 naturally excited a great commotion as to whether the country should be opened to foreigners or not. Those in office were mostly in favour of the measure; those not in office for the most part opposed it. Among the latter was the Prince of Mito, who at once hastened to Kiōto and advised the Mikado 'not to

allow foreigners to land on the sacred soil of Japan, for if he did so, the country would become subject to other nations.' The Mikado adopted his counsel and from this time the Mikado and his party have been anti-foreign. On the other hand, Hotta Bitchiu-no-kami and his fellows in the Tokugawa Council of State, led by Ii-Kamon-no-kami, held that the time had come when the influx of foreigners could no longer be stayed.

"When Commodore Perry came and left the letter from the President of the United States of America asking for a Treaty of Amity, the Yedo Government at once despatched a member of the Council of State to Kiōto, to obtain the Mikado's consent to a Treaty with the U. S. of America. When this was refused, Hotta Bitchu-no-kami was sent to explain the state of European and American progress and civilization, and to again ask permission to conclude the Treaty. But his mission was utterly unavailing; the Mikado's courtiers were backed by many of the *Daimio*, who had no objection to the opening of the country and to intercourse with foreigners, but who were bitterly jealous of the power of the Shōgun, and wished to overthrow it, and saw a means of doing so by opposing foreign intercourse. In the Spring of 1854 Commodore Perry's fleet returned for the reply to the President's letter. After consultation

the Yedo Court decided to make the treaty with the U. S. without any further reference to the Mikado's Government in Kiōto.

"Hayashi Daigaku-no-kami and others were appointed as Plenipotentiaries and the Treaty was signed at Kanagawa in March 1854. The formidable appearance of Perry's squadron was a powerful argument in favour of this step, for the Government saw that a refusal to sign the Treaty of Amity might lead to hostilities with the "Black Ships," as the American Squadron was called by the natives; in which case the Japanese would indeed be in an evil plight.

"Now, although this action on the part of the Shōgun's Government averted unpleasantness with the Americans, it was the source of nearly all the internal troubles it has since been called upon to cope with. For the Treaty was signed without leave from the Mikado; and the Western *Daimio*, who had been chafing under the yoke of the Tokugawas for the last two centuries and a half, were quick to take advantage of this usurpation of the Mikado's powers by the Bakufu, and to employ it as a means of withdrawing themselves from dependence on Yedo. About this time the death of the young Shōgun without any direct heir to his office added another to the many difficulties the Bakufu had to contend with.

"For the question of the succession was an all-important one. The Regent, Ii-Kamon-no-kami, was in favour of the son of the Prince of Kishiu (one of *Sanké*, or three collateral branches of the Tokugawa House, from which an heir to the Shōgunate was to be chosen in default of direct descendants from the main line), while Hotta and several other members of the *Gorōjiu* advocated the claims of Prince Hitotsubashi, of the House of Mito, on the ground that he had reached years of discretion, while the other was still a minor. The Regent opposed, and the Court of Kiōto favoured Hitotsubashi, because he was the son of the leader of the anti-foreign faction in the nation, and Ii-Kamon-no-kami's mind was bent on avoiding all conflict with the formidable foreigners who had so unexpectedly appeared in the 'black ships.'

"So finally the Regent on his own responsibility nominated the son of Kishiu, Shōgun, and dismissed all the officials who were partisans of Hitotsubashi. This gave deep umbrage to many, and in 1860 Ii-Kamon-no-kami was assassinated by Mito men. Ever since that period the domains of Mito have been a thorn in the side of the Government, while in the Western Provinces, Chōshiu, Satsuma, and Tosa have combined to overthrow the Tokugawa Shōgunate by urging the Mikado to

cancel the treaties the Yedo Government has concluded with foreigners.

"However, after his encounter with the English, fleet in 1863, Satsuma became convinced that no *Daimio*, or combination of *Daimios* in Japan, could expel the foreigners, and plainly told the Mikado as much. Then followed Chōshiu's plot to kidnap the Mikado and make himself master of the Shōgunate. This plot had been disclosed by one of the parties to it, to Nakagawa-no-miya, the Mikado's uncle, who at once laid the whole affair before His Majesty. The Mikado was exceedingly wroth with Chōshiu and ordered him out of the city of Kiōto, a step which gave rise to the late commotions there. Since then the Mikado has become more reconciled to the Tokugawa party and has commanded the Shōgun to subjugate and punish Chōshiu as a rebel."

## IV.

*June 6th.* We have just heard that Shimadzu Saburo has reappeared at Kiōto at the head of 60,000 men in order to lay his views before the Mikado's Court *with all due emphasis.*

*June 28th.* The Yedo public are keeping high holiday in celebration of the Shōgun's safe return (by water) from Kiōto.

In the course of this month I began the publication of the *Kaigai Shimbun,* a Japanese newspaper printed with wooden type and containing a summary of foreign news. *This was the first newspaper ever printed and published in the Japanese language.* It continued to be issued from this date until I left for Nagasaki—a period of about two years.

*July 20th.* From Kaneko-mura, in the Province of Yashū, we get intelligence that a band of 200 or 300 *Rōnin* suddenly appeared there and told the inhabitants that inasmuch as the Shōgun had failed to carry out the Mikado's order to expel all foreign barbarians from Japan, they meant

to take the matter in hand themselves. But money was needed to carry out their project; therefore they called upon the townsmen for a contribution, not as a gift, but as a loan to enable them to effect their purpose. When the inhabitants refused their demand on the plea of poverty, the *Rōnin* began to sack and plunder and robbed them of 6,000 *rio*, with which they disappeared in the mountains. Since the leaders of the band were said to be Mito men, the Prince of Mito petitioned the Government to allow him to go and capture them, inasmuch as it gave him much concern to learn that retainers of his were behaving in this lawless manner. However, it is said that the Government has refused his petition, fearing that, if granted, Mito will purposely allow the *Rōnin* to escape, and has therefore entrusted three *Daimio* with the task of arresting the law-breakers.

*July 21st.* Two English men-of-war, the *Barrosa* and the *Cormorant*, have started for the Inland Sea with two Chōshiu Samurai on board. These are Ito Shunske and Inouye Bunda, who had returned from England by the mail of the last 25th May, I was told afterwards.

In the afternoon we heard from Yedo that several *Gorōjiu* and *Wakadoshiyori* have been dismissed from their offices, among them being Matsudaira Idzu-no-kami, Itakura Suwo-no-kami,

and Sakai Wota-no-kami. It is said that this is in consequenee of the death of the young Shōgun, who was said to have been poisoned by sucking his brush while painting, about a fortnight ago. It is further alleged that two physicians have come under suspicion in connection with His Highness' death, and have been arrested.

*July 28th.* Abe Bungo-no-kami, late Governor of Foreign Affairs and of Kanagawa, has been made a member of the *Gorōjiu.*

Since Prince Hitotsubashi has been appointed keeper of Ōsaka castle by the Mikado, he has been mustering a large force for some purpose or other.

*August 10th.* This morning's paper says; "H. B. M.'s *Barrosa* and *Cormorant* have just returned from the cruise on which they started hence on the 21st ult. "The great curiosity which has for many days agitated this community as to the reception they would meet with, can be only very partially satisfied by any intelligence we can afford.

"They arrived at Hime Shima, about 30 miles from Hagi, the residence of Nagato, on the evening of Tuesday the 27th. The two Japanese who accompanied the expedition, having donned the disguise of Doctors, were landed, with a journey of thirty miles before them, and in great dread of *Rōnins* on their road, and the reception that might await them on arrival.

"On Monday, the 1st, steam was got up, and the *Cormorant* bore down towards the entrance of the Inland Sea; as she approached, she easily discovered that a considerable number of new forts had been erected, on both sides of the channel. The *Barrosa* anchored off Hime-shima and the narrow entrance of the Inland Sea, and took soundings; on this occasion, so far as we ascertained, nothing particular occurred; but on Sunday, the 7th, the *Cormorant* again went down to the entrance of the Inland Sea, and it was discovered that in the week's interval the forts had been further strengthened, having more guns than on her former visit.

"The Japanese fired shot and shell across the Straits on the approach of the *Cormorant*. On the same day, Sunday, the 7th, the two Japanese envoys returned with the answer of the Prince Nagato, the tenor of which we have not heard officially, but it is rumoured to be unfavorable. The two Japanese returned on Sunday to the island, saying as they left, that the Prince of Nagato would probably open the Straits in a little time. The people with whom intercourse was had are said to have been unusually uncivil; saying that they wished our ships would go away; they did not want us at all.

"They report that Nagato has some sixteen

thousand *Rōnins* in his employ, independent of his regular army of 26,000 men."

*August 20th.* This morning one of the local papers writes on the Chōshiu matters as follows:—

"As we write these lines a combined naval expedition, one of the most formidable of any that ever appeared in this part of the world, is preparing to inflict upon one of the proudest *Daimio* of Japan, well-deserved punishment for his piratical attack on the flags of the Western powers. Long indeed has the patience of foreigners and their spirit of conciliation withheld the coming blow, but the long-deferred vengeance is impending at last, and is sure to fall with redoubled vigor on the head of Chōshiu."

"It is needless to relate at length all the attempts that have been made by the various interested powers to bring this question of the Straits of Shimonoseki to a peaceful issue. For a long time the Ministers of the Tycoon expressed their willingness to arrange the affair themselves, and to bring Chōshiu to condign punishment; but we are not aware that anything was really done by them towards this end. All their efforts and procrastinating ways had no other effect, if with no other object, than to screen the culprit, and it became more and more evident that unless the Western powers took the matter out of the hands of the *Gorōjiu*, and applied to Chōshiu direct for a settlement, the Straits of Shimonoseki might remain closed to all Eternity, and the honor of our flags—as well as the integrity of our Treaty rights—be as far as ever from being vindicated.

"The *Barrosa* and *Cormorant* were sent on a special mission to Chōshiu, as the means of exhausting all the possible ways of conciliation and justice.

"That mission failed as signally, as all the former negotiations, and nothing now remains but an appeal to the *ultima ratio regum*.

"Thus for a second time the Government of the Tycoon, after vainly attempting to deter the Foreign Powers from seeking redress where it was justly due to them, has shirked its responsibility and declared its inability to bring independent *Daimio* to justice. The responsibility of the Japanese Government does not, however, end here. The two Japanese envoys who had been sent in the *Barrosa* to convey to Chōshiu the ultimatum of the Foreign Ministers, stated

verbally but distinctly in reply, that Chōshiu had been instructed both by the Mikado and the Shōgun to keep the Straits of Shimonoseki closed. The connection of the name of the Tycoon with that of the Mikado created no little surprise as may well be imagined, and gave rise to serious suspicions of duplicity and complicity which will have hereafter to be cleared up.

"For the present the all-important affair is that of Shimonoseki. We entertain no doubt of its being successfully carried out, difficult as it may appear; we will not, however, anticipate the course of events and are satisfied to await the result. But soon after that, we trust that the *Gorōjiu* will have to answer for themselves and to make amends for their many delinquencies, *and unless we are greatly mistaken*, it will be so. We have it from an authentic source that all the Western Powers have come to a full understanding, and will henceforward insist upon the most complete execution of the Treaties. For too long have their most important provisions been evaded, infringed, set at naught by the native authorities of this country, to the serious inconvenience and loss of the foreign as well as of the native traders.

"We rejoice heartily to think that the time for equivocation or double-dealing has passed; and we can see looming in the distance the dawn of better days, when the patience of our merchants will have its reward.

"The above was actually in type when yesterday the *Ganges* arrived. The sudden and unexpected return of the Japanese Embassy by that vessel, together with the information brought by the mail that before leaving Paris the Envoys had signed a convention with the French Government, by which the Tycoon was engaged to open the Straits of Shimonoseki within three months after the return of the Mission to Japan, necessarily checked for the moment any movement of the combined forces. It now remains to be seen whether the Tycoon disavows the acts or will ratify the convention. If the latter, France, of course, cannot act in the interval; and in the former alternative, the Foreign Representatives may again feel free to take such steps as they may deem expedient. It is impossible not to see, however, that this premature return of the Mission, with the peremptory refusal of all the Treaty Powers to negotiate respecting the closing of Yokohama and the knowledge of this convention together, are likely to precipitate events, and bring on

a political crisis and a conflict of parties, which may demand all the resources as well as the prudence and vigilance of those in authority, adequately to provide against."

In the course of the year I had innumerable native visitors to my place,—all eager after foreign news, more especially the local authorities. So, as already mentioned, I began the publication of the *Kaigai Shimbun*, a newspaper translated from Foreign papers whenever the mails arrived, and giving the local *Prices Current* for *Imports* and *Exports*, for the benefit of the natives. But it was a strange fact that although the native public were anxious to read the paper, they were afraid, I believe, on account of the Government and the law at that time, to subscribe to it or to buy it; so I had to give it away mostly for their benefit: the only regular subscribers being one Samurai (Shomura) of Higo and another (Nakamura), an officer of Yanagawa, in Kiushiu.

*August 26th.* We have just heard that in Kiōto, early on the morning of the 20th, the Chōshiu men marched into the heart of the Capital and without the least warning fired upon the City Guard, which consisted of Aidzu men. It is stated that some time ago Chōshiu had received orders both from the Mikado and the Shōgun to expel all foreigners from the country, and in consequence of this he had fired on all Western vessels that had attempted to pass through his

territorial waters. Yet after all this he finds that the Shōgun is giving aid and succour to those very foreigners he had charged him (Chōshiu) to drive from the country! Accordingly he is said to have sent a messenger to the Shōgun to demand an explanation of this behaviour. But the messenger was stopped by the guard, whereupon the Chōshiu men at once attacked the guard, and opened fire upon the Mikado's palace, which was burned to the ground.

In the afternoon we heard that the native authorities had repudiated the agreement which their Envoys signed with the French Government. On account of this rumour the French war-vessels in port have commenced preparations to start for Shimonoseki to open direct communication with the Prince of Chōshiu and to demand an indemnity for his late attacks on the French flag. They are to sail on the 28th, and are to be followed by the English, Dutch, and American men-of-war.

In the evening it was reported that Prince Hitotsubashi has joined the Chōshiu faction, while Mito was said to be lending succour to the Yashu *Rōnin*. The Governor of Kanagawa has called upon the people to suspend all amusements for seven days on account of the troubles at Kiōto.

*August 28th.* It is said that some 50,000 *Rōnin* have occupied the greater part of Yashu,

establishing batteries and posting guns on many commanding positions in the Province. In some places they have posted up placards written in large characters, to the following effect:—*These lands belong to the gods, and are given to men. Whoever tills them is under no obligation to pay any tax to the so-called owners. But for the protection we afford them, the tillers shall pay to us* (*Rōnin*) *one-half of the customary tax they have hitherto paid.*

It is reported that two French warships, shortly after followed by two Dutch men-of-war, have steamed out for the Straits of Shimonoseki, while a native steamer from Yedo has just come down to follow them and watch their movements.

*August 29th.* In Yedo on the 25th inst. orders were issued that henceforth all *Daimiō* who had business within the Castle should leave their attendants at the first gate beyond the Moat. This in consequence of the disturbances in Kiōto.

It is further stated that the Bakufu has ordered the Prince of Aidzu and Sakai Saemon-no-jo to surround the Chōshiu *Yashiki*[1] in Yedo, and not allow anyone to enter or leave it,—in other words to cut off all intercourse between the inmates and the outside world; which order is being carried out to the letter.

*August 30th.* Yesterday afternoon the U. S. Consul issued notice to his countrymen not to go outside the settlement, riding or walking, until the present difficulties between the Shōgun and Chōshiu have been adjusted.

At last the rumoured combined foreign expedition has started to punish Chōshiu. The fleet numbers 17 vessels,—English, French, Dutch, with one American ship. As the *Jamestown*, the only American man-of-war on the station, was a sailing ship and could not accompany the expedition, the Minister chartered the steamer *Takiang* for $10,000 per month, and placing an officer, and a few sailors and a gun on board of her, sent her to represent the American flag.

The steamer *Chusan* has just arrived from Shanghai, bringing 300 Indian troops and 80 men of the 67th regiment for the English garrison at Yokohama. This has caused great excitement among the Japanese, and much discussion of the possibilities of coming to blows.

It is reported that on the previous night the Governor of Foreign Affairs came from Yedo on horseback in great haste with a communication to the Foreign Representatives in Yokohama.

Overnight the Governor of Kanagawa has sent a detachment of soldiers in green coats with red stripes over to Kanagawa to guard the place.

PRINCE NAGATO'S RESIDENCE IN YEDO, 1864.

News comes from Yedo to the effect that yesterday the Shōgun's Government ordered Sakai Saemon-no-jo to summon the Chōshiu *samurai* to surrender and deliver up their *yashiki* and their persons to him. The demand was peacefully complied with. The late Governor of Kanagawa, Gohara Isaburo, and another officer have been appointed *Ometsuke*, and ordered to Europe to settle about the Convention with France, signed by the late ambassadors, Ikeda and Kawadzu-Izu-no-kami.

The green-coated soldiers have arrested an outlaw who was testing dynamite in the neighbourhood of Kanagawa. After this the Governor ordered the guard to be strengthened, since it was suspected that there were many *Rōnin* in the neighbourhood waiting for a favourable opportunity to attack the settlement, and that this man arrested was their spy.

*September 1st.* We hear from Hitachi that a band of some 3,000 *Rōnin* marched upon Shimotsuma, the Castle-town of a small *Daimiō* called Inouye, and took it by a *coup-de-main*. The *Daimiō* and several of his chief retainers committed *hara-kiri* rather than fall into the clutches of the outlaws, while others of his clansmen escaped.

*September 5th.* Everything is quiet in Yedo,

amusements and business proceeding as usual. Some of the Governors of Kanagawa who have been shelved are again getting Government appointments; Asano Iga-no-kami, for example, has been nominated Governor of Yedo. It is stated that the Prince of Aidzu, who was wounded in the conflict with Chōshiu, has since died of his injuries.

*September 18th.* The following appears in the local paper.—(From a correspondent.)

"The English Admiral in H.M. steamer *Euryalus* arrived off the Bungo Channel on the evening of Sept. 1st and there fell in with the French squadron, as did also the *Perseus* with a collier from Shanghai.

"The Admiral accompanied by the *Perseus* proceeded at once up the Channel and anchored at the rendezvous—the Island of Himeshima—on the forenoon of the 2nd, where part of the Dutch squadron consisting of the *Metalis Kruis*, *Djambi*, and the American steamer *Takiang*, had already arrived.

"During the day and night the whole of the ships composing the allied forces had come in, and all were busily employed on the 3rd, coaling.

"On Sunday, September 4th, the allied fleet formed in three columns. The English Admiral leading the centre, weighed from Himé-shima in the morning, and arrived off the entrance of the Straits of Shimonoseki, where he anchored. The English squadron had in the meantime been re-inforced by the arrival of H. M. ship *Coquette* from Nagasaki.

"The Admiral and Commodore went on board of her and spent some time in steaming slowly along the shore to examine the strength of the batteries, and to make plans for an attack which was to commence the following day.

"Monday, Sept. 5th.—The ships appeared very busy getting ready for action, sending, boats away, sending down rigging, and everyone very impatient to go in and win."

"At 2 p.m. the signal was made to weigh, and the ships were soon off to take up their respective stations, viz:—

| Heavy Squadron. Led by Capt. Hayes. | Light Squadron. Led by Capt. Kingston. |
|---|---|
| *Tartar* .. .. .. .. | *Perseus* |
| *Duplex* .. .. .. .. | *Medusa* |
| *Metalis Kruis* .. .. .. | *Tancrede* |
| *Barrosa* .. .. .. .. | *Coquette* |
| *Djambi* .. .. .. .. | *Bouncer* |
| *Leopard* .. .. .. .. | |

"The heavy squadron was to take up a position on the south side at 1,600 yards in front of the Maita-mura and Saho batteries. The Light Squadron close in shore on the north side to take the Chofu point batteries, and to flank the Maita-mura and Saho ones, and also to keep under way.

"At 4 p.m., the ships being in position and the Japanese not having fired, the flagship signalled "engage the enemy," at the same time sending a splendid shot from her bow-guns right into the Maita-mura battery, a distance of 4,300 yards. The Japanese instantly returned the fire, and the action became general, the heavy squadron, firing with slow, severe and certain effect, the light squadron cruising about and having silenced the Chofu point batteries, pouring in a most destructive flanking fire, as a small accompaniment to the heavy one. At a few minutes to five the whole of the batteries were silenced. At this time the *Perseus*, and shortly after the *Medusa*, were seen quietly stealing along the shore to the batteries of Maita-mura, and it afterwards became known by the loud cheers that greeted their return to the fleet, that Capt. Kingston, Lt. Pett, Lt. Froude, and Mr. Cochrane, gunner, had landed with a party of twenty men, and in spite of the fire of some riflemen in the adjoining wood had succeeded in spiking and rendering useless 14 guns, in which undertaking they were ably supported by the *Medusa*.

"Tuesday, 6th, at 5 a.m., the Saho battery opened fire on the *Tartar* and the *Duplex*, but was soon silenced."

"The light Division towing the boats containing the landing parties now went in, consisting of the marines under Colonel Suther and Lieuts. Racose and Adair, and small arm companies of the *Euryalus* and the *Conqueror* under Captain Alexander, landed and formed under the protection of their guns; they advanced and the

Union Jack and the Tricolor were soon waving side by side on the Maita-mura battery.

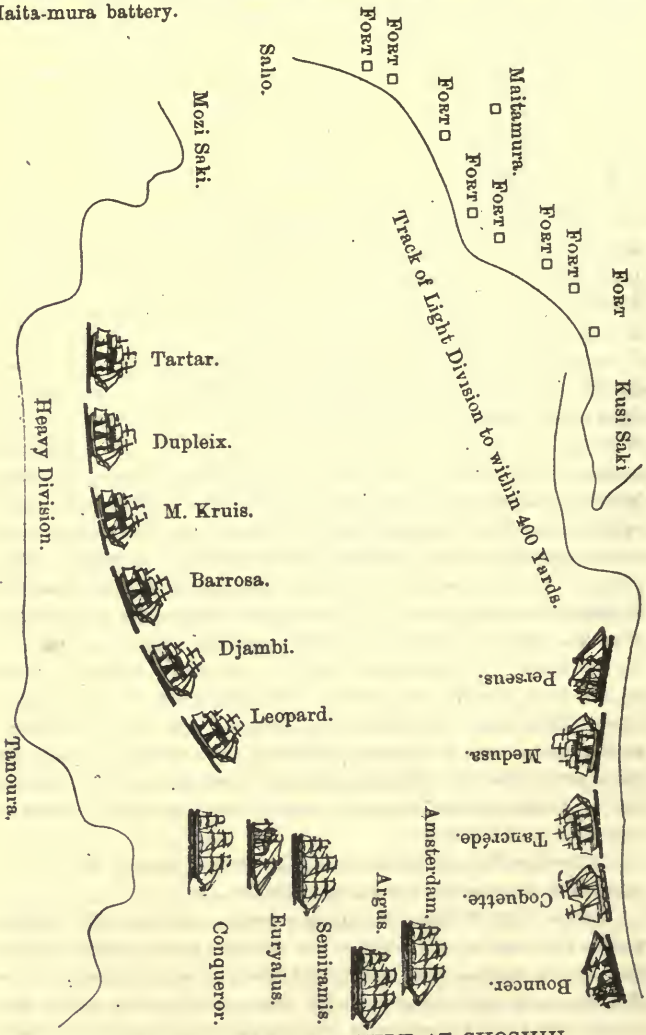



PLATE III.—PLAN OF BATTLE AT CHOSHIU.

"About this time, 10 a.m., the *Perseus*, while trying to turn her head off shore was swept in by the tide and grounded, but was of great use in covering the landing parties and receiving the wounded, being only fifty yards from the shore.

"During the afternoon a great deal of skirmishing took place, the marines having marched forward from Maita-mura to the Saho battery, which they took possession of, and then returned. An assault was then made on a stockade fort of seven guns standing in a ravine to the rear of Maita-mura. It was led by Capt. Alexander, who here fell severely wounded by a musket ball through the foot. It was here also that the principal loss to the fleet occurred, but the fort was gallantly taken after some resistance, and the guns removed. During the afternoon most of the guns, some of them weighing as much as seven tons, brass and of Japanese casting, were removed by the boats of the fleet to their respective ships, and an attempt was made to get the *Perseus* off shore, but it proved unsuccessful.

"Sept. 7th. The *Tartar*, *Dupleix*, *Metalis Kruis*, and *Djambi* moved higher up the Straits and in a very short space of time had demolished the Battery of Kibuné on the Island of Hiku-shima and taken the guns. During the night the *Perseus* got off the ground with the assistance of the *Barrosa* and the *Argus*.

"Sept. 8th. A flag of truce was hoisted on shore and also on board the ships; there was nothing more to be done now, the guns being all on board the different ships of the allied fleet, and Nagato begging for terms.

"Sept. 9th. The light squadron weighed and stood in-shore, and the small-arm company landed under Capts. Kingston and Casembroke, and took possession of all the guns in the Chofu and Ravine batteries, which were sent on board the ships.

GUNS CAPTURED.

| | |
|---|---|
| In Chofu point battery .. .. .. .. .. .. | 4 |
| Maita-mura „ .. .. .. .. .. .. | 28 |
| Ravine „ .. .. .. .. .. .. | 1 |
| Saho .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 15 |
| Kibuné point .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 15 |
| Taken from Stockade .. .. .. .. .. .. | 7 |
| Total .. .. .. .. .. .. | 70 |

"Of the killed and wounded, twenty-three belonged to the *Euryalus*, and ten to the *Tartar*. The former ship bore the brunt of the action on shore, the latter afloat, having no less than twenty-four shots in her.

*September 20th.* We have just heard from Yedo that after a long discussion the Council of State has issued the following instructions regarding raw silk:—"Hitherto raw silk, like any other article, has been allowed to find its way to Yokohama direct from the locality where it has been produced. But this direct conveyance has so enhanced the price of the article in question that the poorer classes (of Japanese) can no longer afford to purchase it for their use. In order to remedy this, we hereby enact that in future this article shall not be sent direct from its place of production to Yokohama, but shall in the first instance be sent to the Yedo *Tonya*, where its price shall be fixed according to its grade. And the dealers of Yokohama shall purchase the silk from the Yedo *Tonya*. The *Tonya* prices of purchase from the grower is fixed at 1 *rio* for 75 *momme* of the 1st grade. In this way the people of the country can obtain silk garments at a cheaper rate than they have done for some time past."

As soon as the native dealers in Yokohama heard of this law, they informed the Foreign merchants, and the latter at once complained to their

BATTLE SCENE AT TSUKUBA-ZAN, NOV. 7TH, 1864.

Representatives and used every endeavour to have the enactment annulled. And it even went so far that the combined English, French, Dutch and American fleets sailed up to Yedo to lend emphasis to the protests of their Ministers against this interference with trade, which they maintained was contrary to the stipulations of the Treaties.

*October 5th.* The Council of State has cancelled the above-mentioned law, and raw silk again finds its way to Yokohama as before, with the single exception that all silk for the treaty port must be landed at Kanagawa and thence brought over on pack-horses. While the negotiations were in progress, there seems to have been a good deal of smuggling, the authorities having seized about 1,000 bales in all, at Hommoku, Shinagawa and elsewhere.

*November 7th.* We learn that those *Daimiō* who were sent to reduce the *Rōnin* at Tsukuba-san have at length succeeded in doing so, after an obstinate contest lasting several days and nights. The chief of the band was captured alive, and is said to be no less a personage than Matsudaira Ōi-no-kami, a relative of the Prince of Mito.

*November 25th.* The following is the translation of a curious correspondence which has just

passed between the Prince of Higo (Hosokawa) and Chōshiu. I received the documents from Dr. F——, who vouches for their authenticity.

"I have the honour to make a communication to your Highness. Being a neighbouring *Daimio* I could not but notice the mistake which Your Highness has made in rebelling against the Shōgun and the Mikado. I am fully convinced that this rebellion was not of your own accord, but that you were urged thereto by certain ill-bred and evil-minded men about you.

I have been thinking over the matter, and to me it seems a very sad thing that your house should lose these two great and valuable provinces of Suwo and Nagato, and also its good name, on account of a mere mistake on your part. Actuated by this feeling and by the high regard I have for Your Highness, I beg to offer my services as a mediator to arrange the difficulty pending between Your Highness and the Shōgun, for I do not wish to see you lose your fief and disgrace your name.

I offer my services as mediator on the understanding that Your Highness and Your Highness's son shall commit *hara-kiri* in expiation of the mistake you have made in assaulting the Palace of the Mikado, and in opposing the Shōgun's forces in Kiōto. If you agree to this I will do my best to obtain grace from the Mikado and the Shōgun, so that the provinces of Nagato and Suwo and its good name may be secured to Your Highness's House for ever.

As to *hara-kiri*, it is customary among *samurai*, who are taught that it is their duty to commit it, in the event of any insult offered, or even of mistake committed which tends to affront a superior, as in this present case. Therefore I hope Your Highness will give a favourable consideration to the offer I now make, and trust to receive an early reply.

Stated with respect,

(Signed) HOSOKAWA.

10th day of the 10th month (1864.)

In reply to this Chōshiu wrote as follows:—

"Your Highness's communication has been duly received and

read with much interest, and we feel grateful to think that among the Shōgun's party that calls us rebels, there is one heart willing to offer its services as mediator in our case.

"We thank you greatly for the offer of your services on our behalf, but for the present we must decline to accept such terms as you have named in your communication.

"As you must be conscious, every lover of truth is aware that we have done no wrong to the Shōgun or the Mikado, and yet we are called rebels! Under these circumstances, when we know that we are in the right why should we sacrifice our lives or surrender our territories? Whatever we have done so far has been done in accordance with the orders of the Mikado and of the Shōgun. For instance, our firing upon foreign vessels in the Straits of Shimonoseki was in accordance with such orders. The Shōgun's Government accuses us of failing to make any discrimination in the nationality of the vessels we fired at. But our orders were to fire on *all* foreign vessels. Accordingly we fired on the Dutch ship as well as on the others. And now they would find fault with us on the ground that that ship was not an English vessel! But how could we make out the ship's nationality in the darkness of the night? Besides, granted that it was a Dutch vessel we fired on, what difference can this make? The orders we received from the Mikado through the Shōgun were "to fire on and attack *all* foreign vessels and drive them from our shores." No exception was made! And these orders we obeyed. As to the conflict at Kiōto, it began by the Aidzu men firing on us, and all that we did was to return their fire. Our men had been specially warned not to fire, and not to disturb the Imperial City. But as the Chōshiu men were going to have an interview with the Mikado, the Shōgun's guard opposed their entrance into the City, and when our party insisted, the Aidzu men opened fire. Such are the facts of the case.

"Thus we have briefly stated the facts. From this you will readily understand that we are not in the wrong. Therefore we respectfully decline the kind offer you have made to act as mediator in our case. And we assure Your Highness and the party to which you belong that we are ready to meet you at all times and places.

Stated with respect,

(Signed) CHŌSHIU.

*November 28th.* It is reported that my old friend, Tsukahara, has been appointed *Ometsuke*, and received the title of Tajima-no-kami. He is to be sent to Chōshiu to negotiate with that Prince.

*January 2nd, 1865.* During the past year the "Exchange" question had been much talked of and discussed in the papers and we were somewhat curious to know its particulars. The Consul, C—— asked me to apply in his name to the local Custom House for the list of Exchange given to all Foreign officials during 1864. Upon my application the chief Interpreter at the Custom House furnished me with the following document:—

"The exchange granted by the native Government to the Foreign Ministers, Consuls, Military and Naval officers and men for the year 1864,—is as follows:—"

| | |
|---|---|
| To English, monthly exchange for the Legation, (for the year) .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | $ 36,000.00 |
| To English, monthly exchange for the Consulate (for the year) .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 12,000.00 |
| To English, monthly exchange for the Military (for the year) .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 193,548.82 |
| To English, monthly exchange for the Naval officers and men (for the year) .. .. .. .. | 1,076,921.46 |
| To English, an extra exchange asked by the Minister which was granted .. .. .. .. .. | 7,000.00 |
| Total .. .. .. .. .. | $1,325,470.28 |
| To French, monthly exchange for the Legation (for the year) .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | $ 36,000.00 |
| To French, monthly exchange for the Consulate (for the year) .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 12,000.00 |
| To French, monthly exchange for the Military (for the year) .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 180,806.96 |

| | |
|---|---|
| To French, monthly exchange for the Navy (for the year) .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 341,003.04 |
| To French, an extra exchange asked by and granted to Minister .. .. .. .. .. .. | 8,000.00 |
| To French, an extra exchange asked and granted on erecting buildings by M. C... .. .. .. | 16,373.68 |
| To French, an extra exchange granted to Navy when Japanese Embassy left for France.. .. | 2,000.00 |
| Total .. .. .. .. .. | $596,183.68 |
| To Americans, monthly exchange for the Legation (for the year) .. .. .. .. .. .. | $ 36,000.00 |
| To Americans, monthly exchange for the Consulate (for the year) .. .. .. .. .. .. | 12,000.00 |
| To Americans, monthly exchange for the Naval officers and men (for the year).. .. .. .. | 57,057.00 |
| To Americans, monthly exchange for the U. S. Marshal .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 1,188.00 |
| Total .. .. .. .. .. | $106.245.00 |
| To Dutch, monthly exchange for the Consul-General (for the year) .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | $ 18,000.00 |
| To Dutch, monthly exchange for the Consulate (for the year).. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 12,000.00 |
| To Dutch, monthly exchange for the Naval officers and men (for the year) .. .. .. .. | 223,533.17 |
| Total .. .. .. .. .. | $253,533.17 |
| To Swiss, monthly exchange for the Consul-General (for the year) .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | $ 18,000.00 |
| To Swiss, extra monthly exchange asked by Consul L—— .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 8,000.00 |
| To Swiss, extra monthly exchange asked again (for the year).. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 6,000.00 |
| Total .. .. .. .. .. | $ 32,000.00 |
| To Portuguese, monthly exchange for the Consul. | $ 12,000.00 |
| To Hospital, allowed exchange.. .. .. .. .. | 6,000.00 |
| An extra asked and granted.. .. .. | 6,300.00 |
| Total .. .. .. .. .. | $ 24,300.00 |

Thus, the grand total appears to be $2,593,277.78.

*May.* In the course of this month, a dispatch was received from the Shōgun's Government, by the Foreign Representatives to the following effect:—"By this communication we beg to inform you that since the opening of the country to foreign intercourse, the feelings of both natives and foreigners have become more and more intimate and cordial. We intend, therefore, to allow our people (traders as well as officials) to visit foreign countries from time to time in accordance with treaty stipulations."

"As we understand that it is the custom of European countries to issue passports to their countrymen who desire to visit other countries, we have adopted a similar rule, and will in future hand such passports to our subjects who go abroad—with the seal of our Government, which seal we will forward to your Government beforehand."

"Should any of our subjects ever go to your country with such passport with proper seal thereon, we request that you will treat them kindly, while those who shall have no such passport to show are not to be considered subjects of ours, and you may treat them accordingly. In view of the above, we will hand you at an early date a copy of the passport and the Government Seal, which we request you to forward to your Govern-

ment, with the aforesaid request, at your earliest convenience."

This was the first intimation the Shōgun's Government had given of its willingness to allow its subjects to travel abroad.

*May 23rd.* On this date it is reported that at Yedo the Government issued the following notice to the people:—"In future any person wishing to visit other countries for the purpose of either acquiring languages, sciences, or arts, or for objects of trade, should apply to the Government for permission, with their names, residences, and objects, and the name of the country which they wish to visit, when the Government will grant them passports."

"All retainers of *Daimio* and *Hatamoto* should make their application through their respective masters. Citizens and peasants shall make their application through their respective local Governors, and tax collectors, or through their landlords.

"If any person should go abroad without a proper permit from the Government he shall be punished severely. Let everybody understand this order and observe the regulations issued and circulated to those whom it may concern, even to the commonest subjects, in order that any person who wishes to go abroad may make proper application.

"(Signed) GOVERNMENT OFFICE."

*July 1st.* It is reported in the newspaper that the following notice has been sent by the Tycoon to the Gorojiu:—"Mōri, having violated the greatest of our Laws—that which is the basis of the Empire—by having profaned and burned the Capital of Kioto, having set at naught the authority of the Government, and being besides guilty of many other crimes and misdemeanours, we have resolved to punish him, as a lying, traitorous rebel, dangerous to all the Empire, who ought to be punished. We shall leave on the 16th day of the 5th month at noon. Everyone in Yedo must continue his occupations. The *Samurai* will do his duty, with more energy, the *Hiyakusho* (peasants) shall fearlessly work in the fields, the *Chonin*, and *Shoku-nin* (merchants and artizans) all shall comport themselves as if We were still in Our Palace. Those who are at the head of the Government, having Our entire confidence, must see that Our will is conformed to, which is, that peace and security reign over all.

"Yedo and the provinces that understand the duties of true Japanese, are happily free of Ronin. Those who have escaped the sword of Our brave Sae-mon-no-jo have retired to Choshiu to help that chief of rebels. If Our absence be longer than last year, all the arrangements must continue the same. It is customary in the absence of the Tycoon, for

the administration of the Laws to be more rigid, and for delinquents to be punished more severely, but this time to prove Our goodwill and the confidence we have in Our people, We have given orders to Our government that nothing be changed. This is a new proof of Our affection for all Our subjects, throughout Our dominions."

## V.

*July.* In the course of this month we heard of the murder of President Lincoln, and of the attack on Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, in Washington. Upon receipt of this intelligence, I at once wrote to Mr. Seward, tendering my sincere condolence to him, and through him to President Lincoln's family. In reply I received the following autograph letter.

Washington Sept. 25. 1865

My dear Mr Beck.

I have just received your letter of the 31st of July and I thank you for remembering me among the countless causes that solicit the services of the Library. Some of your far away native Hills. The father in Heaven has called our county to a different, but he has never. They remember mercy, and

an oath is against you day
He has been pleased to visit
me with trials, but he has
graciously enabled me to
keep through them. Let us in
all things submit ourselves to
his will. He is omnipotent and
omniscient we are blind and
powerless

Faithfully yours
William Ashmore

Joseph Beck Esq
Kanagawa
Care of Crosse

*November, 1865.* This month has witnessed a great commotion in the Port, caused mainly by some of the peculiarities of extra-territoriality. A certain English dry-goods dealer had an American *employé* named G., whom he suspected of pilfering. The dealer invoked the authority of his Consul, and G. was illegally arrested and lodged in the English jail. So the *employé* brought an action for false imprisonment against the dealer,—in the English Court, of course. In this case the American Consul, who happened to be the only American lawyer in Yokohama, was Counsel for the plaintiff. This led to the local English paper making some very caustic comments on G.'s character, and these comments in their turn led to a severe cow-hiding, which G. inflicted on the Editor with much gusto in front of the Club-house on the Bund. Thereupon the Editor brought an action for assault and battery against the said G. in the American Court, where the American Consul, G.'s lawyer, was now his judge. In the course of the case the English community seemed to be filled with the greatest animosity against the defendant and the Court, and several summoned as witnesses refused to answer pertinent questions put by G. as well as by the Court. On the 23rd inst. the following verdict was given, after the quotation and discussion of English and American decisions on similar cases:—

"The Court finds a verdict for the Plaintiff, and orders the Defendant to pay into this Court damages in the sum of 6¼ cents, and it is ordered, adjudged, and decreed by the Court that the defendant further pay costs to the Plaintiff in a sum equal to his damages recovered and that the balance be paid by the Plaintiff. And the Clerk of the Court will so enter up the judgment in the record of the Court. This is approved by all the Assessors."

This decision, as might have been expected, gave rise to a regular commotion among the non-American portion of the foreign community. Public meetings were held and much correspondence passed between the various Consuls. But in the course of the month the whole matter blew over in smoke.

In the month of June, 1866, the Revision of the Tariff had been concluded. In one of the clauses it was stipulated that a Bonded Warehouse should be established. As the Japanese Authorities in Yokohama did not know what this meant, the Governor sent Mayor Miyamoto to me to find out. So I explained to the Mayor and wrote out a history of the institution and of the purposes it was meant to serve. In return for this service the Governor wished to nominate me to a post in the new Bonded Warehouse in the American Department, for it had

been arranged that French, English, Dutch, and Americans should each with the Governor's concurrence choose one of their own countrymen to conduct the business in this newly-established institution. But when the Governor tried to push my nomination, he found that the American *Chargé d' Affaires* had already appointed a personal friend of his own to the post. Thus, I was again shoved out of a lucrative employment which the highest authority at Kanagawa had intended to reward me with in recognition of what services I had rendered him. However, he sent Mayor Miyamoto to me with a letter explaining the circumstances, and with a fine present of two large porcelain vases and a splendid lacquered cabinet.

*November 25th.* This morning, about 9 o'clock, a fire broke out. There was a strong S.W. wind blowing, and before it the flames ran rapidly right and left from the pork-shop on the swamp causeway, where it had its origin. It was not till 5 p.m. that the wind fell and the conflagration was stayed. The entire portion of the Yoshiwara, one-half of the whole Japanese town, and about one-fourth of the Foreign Settlement were burned to the ground.

*December 25th.* In the course of this month I have been preparing to leave Yokohama for Nagasaki, since my friend F. is leaving for home

and has asked me to take charge of his business in the Southern Treaty Port. The steamer *Hiogo* (late *Fukien*), chartered by the Japanese Government, was leaving for Nagasaki, and on my application for a passage, the Governor of Kanagawa offered me a free passage in her to my destination.

*December 29th.* Arrived at Hiōgo, where we found a little foreign steamer (the *Emperor*) at anchor, though the port is not yet open to foreign trade. We were told that she was "prospecting." She was commanded by Capt. J. M. James and owned by Glover & Co. of Nagasaki.

*January 3rd, 1867.* Arrived at Nagasaki, and was met by my friend's boat as we entered the harbour. While at dinner that evening my friend told me that the course of business in Nagasaki at that time was somewhat peculiar. The various neighbouring *Daimio* were now all eager to adapt themselves to the new order of things and to acquire steamers, sailing ships, guns and munitions of war generally. For this purpose, as well as to acquire Western knowledge, their agents and officials were literally flocking into the town. The largest traders in the place were their agents. When any of their special officials came to Nagasaki, they would lodge with these agents during their stay. Every foreign house had its native clerks, whose duty it was to call on these agents

and officials and find out what these latter had come for. They made a point of inviting the officials in question to tiffin or dinner at their employers' houses, where they were well entertained, and where in some instances, they received valuable presents. Hence resulted business and large contracts. But the foreign trader had to be very careful to see to it that he stood well with the Japanese agents of the *Daimio*, inasmuch as these gentlemen were the main-spring of the whole system of trade.

*January 5th.* My friend F. and myself called on the U. S. Consul, and I registered myself as an American citizen in the Consulate in the usual way.

*January 22nd.* A stranger called upon me and introduced himself as Mr. Motono Shuzo, an officer of the Prince of Hizen. He brought me a present of a brace of ducks, and said that he was sent by his Prince to ask me to visit him in his capital of Saga. He said that if I accepted the invitation the Prince would send his steamer to meet me at Mogi, a place distant some 7 miles from Nagasaki. He told me that the Prince's desire to see me was inspired by the fact that he wished to learn all he could about foreign countries and their institutions, for it was absolutely necessary for all *Daimio* to be accurately informed about them in these transition times and in the present unsettled state of the country. He went on to say

that Satsuma, Chōshiu, and Tosa had combined for some occult purpose—most likely for the overthrow of the Shōgun's power, while the Shōgun had various *Daimio* in his service all intently watching to see what course would be adopted by Hizen, Higo, Aki, and Kaga, the largest *Daimio*, who meanwhile were neutral. Under these circumstances the Prince of Hizen was very eager to learn all he could about foreign progress in arms, ships, warfare and civilization generally. I at once accepted the invitation, saying that I should be most glad to give his Prince all the information I could. Mr. Motono had just said that he would return and bring the steamer to Mogi for me, when F. came into the room and asked what we were talking about. When I told him, he at once expressed a wish to accompany me to see the capital of Hizen. But my new friend thought it impossible for any foreigner to visit his country then, upon which I told him that F. was my intimate friend, that he was shortly after going home for good, and that it was my particular wish to shew him the place. "Very well," replied Motono *san*, "I will consult my Prince when I return to Saga and let you know by letter." And thereupon he took his leave.

*February 4th.* To-day through another Hizen officer I got a letter from Mr. Motono telling me

that if I could come without the foreigner, I ought to come overland at once, but if my foreign friend must accompany me I had better postpone my visit for sometime inasmuch as the Prince was to leave for Kioto in a fortnight, and would call on us on his way up to the Capital.

*April 12th.* After introducing me to all his business connections, my friend F. has at last started in the steamer *Feelong*, taking with him, as had been previously arranged, Mr. Tsuge, son of the Minister of the Prince of Chikugo, and Mr. Hanabusa,* a Bizen officer. These gentlemen were going to learn the languages and customs of the West. Inasmuch as they had no government permits, their departure had to be effected with some caution. They came to my house at 9.30 p.m., where they had donned the European garments with which they had already provided themselves, and then my friend F. cut their hair and made them put on European caps. At 11.30 p.m. we sallied down to the wharf, where all the Custom-house officers seemed to be asleep. We got into our covered house-boat and sculled off to the *Feelong*, which was to start for Hongkong at midnight. It was a beautiful evening, quiet and still, with a pale half-moon and the sky studded with stars. When we got alongside, we learned that the only Custom-

* Now Vice-Minister of the Imperial Household.

house officer on board was quartered in the forecastle—not in the cabin as in other Countries,—so F. conducted the two Japanese gentlemen into his private cabin in the saloon and shut the door. At 11.45 p.m. the agent came off with the mail-bags, and shortly after the Customs' official went ashore. A little after midnight the steamer left the harbour, and Messrs. Tsugé and Hanabusa got away without any one but ourselves being aware of their departure.

After F.'s departure I took sole charge of his business and carried it on till the 13th May, when I joined a certain English house at the request of one of the partners. I was to enjoy certain privileges, to be paid a salary and to receive an allowance for entertaining. Here I remained until the failure of the firm in 1870;—of which more anon.

One day Mr. M., an old gentleman of 65 years of age, asked me whether I knew any officials of the Prince who owned the Takashima Coal Mine. I said I knew several of them, among them being his produce-agent. "If so," he said, "that is really fortunate. My absent partner has all along been anxious to get hold of that mine at any cost, inasmuch as this Takashima coal is said to be the very best in the East. Can't you contrive to make some arrangement with the Prince who owns it, through your friend, his agent?"

I answered to the effect that he had better put in writing the suggestion he wished me to make to my friend the officer; whereupon he wrote as follows:—"*Takashima would be the best spot to obtain even at a good sacrifice of money, as the quality of the coal has already been proved to be good, and the quantity raised could be trebled at an additional cost of* $6,000 *for engine and pumps. Would the Karō* (*Counsellor*) *take for himself a yearly rent for the mineral portion of the island of, say* $6,000*? Our firm also paying the other Yakunin* (*officers*) *interested the same monthly or annual allowances as they now get. Matsubayashi* (*your friend*), *and his friend to have a proper lease drawn out in his own name, and assigning a half-interest to our firm. The lease to be for twenty years, renewable if desired by the renter.*

"*If this cannot be obtained then another place to be fixed upon on the left-hand side of the harbour to be leased from the Prince of Hizen, our firm paying him one dollar per ton on the quantity shipped, the capital required being supplied by our firm and Matsubayashi in equal shares.*

*Besides the digging expenses in the beginning, there would be little outlay of money beyond the cost of the engine and the pumps, and when once the mine is at work there will be no outlay whatever, the cost*

*of working being defrayed from the sales of coal produced.*"

I showed this document to Matsubayashi (the *Sambitsu* Agent of the Prince of Hizen) and asked him to do his best endeavour on behalf of the firm. He remarked that it might prove difficult to get hold of Takashima, inasmuch as it was owned and managed by a relative and one of the branch houses of Hizen. "However," he said, "I shall go and see the old Prince (Kansoko) about the affair. He is clever and quick at understanding such matters." So he made a memorandum of the matter and left for Saga at once. The result was that within a few months things were arranged almost exactly as the firm in question had desired.

The first contract signed was something to this effect:—Matsubayashi and G. & Co. shall enter into partnership. The former to act as the Prince's agent and the two to pay a royalty of $1 for every *kuré* of coal taken out of the mine. All expenses to be defrayed by G. & Co. out of the sales of coal. G. & Co. to have sole direction of the working of the mine, sales of coal etc. on which account they are to receive 5 per-cent. commission. The contract to be for 15 years, renewable if desired at the end of that period. After all expenses deducted, profit or loss to be

shared equally between Matsubayashi and G. & Co.

This was the first instance in Japan of a partnership between a native and a foreigner.

## VI.

*June.* One morning this month two officers called at my house. They gave their names as Kido Junichiro and Ito* Shunske and said they were officials from Satsuma. I received them as such, and they at once fell to asking me questions about foreign matters—more especially about the history of England and America, their institutions, Governments and so forth. I answered their queries to the best of my ability. The elder (Kido) expressed himself as very much interested in the Constitution of the United States—he said it was quite new to him.

As I replied to all their questions with the utmost frankness, they seemed to be very pleased and became very friendly; yet I noticed that they were not at all inclined to be communicative about themselves.

After they had gone, my *bantō*, Shojiro, entered my office and asked what I thought of my two visitors. I said that they struck me as parti-

* Now H.E. Count Ito, Prime Minister of Japan.

cularly nice and gentlemanly men; the only thing about them that I thought strange being the absence of all trace of the Satsuma dialect in their talk, although they had told me they were Satsuma officials. At this my *bantō* laughed quietly, and then told me that my visitors were no more Satsuma men than he or I was. "The elder," said he "is Katsura Kō-go-rō, a Chōshiu *Samurai*. When I was a well-to-do rice-merchant, I used to visit Chōshiu very frequently on business, and then I often associated with Mr. Katsura at Shimonoseki, playing *go* and composing odes with him. But now that I have become a poor *bantō* in a foreign house he has forgotten me altogether."

A few days later the officers called again, and I asked them to tiffin and they accepted my invitation. At table I casually remarked that I could hardly ever have taken them for Satsuma gentlemen, inasmuch as their accent and idiom smacked more of the Inland Sea than of Satsuma. Then turning to Kido I asked him directly whether his name was not Katsura. Upon this the two looked at each other in astonishment for some seconds and then they smiled. After that Kido turned to me and said that I was quite right, and that what he was now going to tell me must be kept strictly private.

"You know," he said, "that we are very

wrongly and unjustly considered and treated as rebels by the Shōgun's government, since we have done nothing to merit that name. On this account we borrow Satsuma's name whenever we come to Nagasaki on business."

After this disclosure they began to talk to me more freely about the real object of their visit to Nagasaki. After going into the ancient history of the Japanese Empire at some length, and after explaining the origin of the Shōgunate, Kido proceeded: "Thus, you must see, the real Sovereign and ruler of this country is the Mikado; while as for the Shōgun who calls himself Tycoon, the founder of his house usurped the power he wields, some two hundred and fifty years ago. And during all that time the House of Tokugawa has continued to exercise their usurped power, and in our day the Shōgun has even gone so far as to call himself 'Tai-kun' and in his own name to conclude treaties with foreign nations without the Mikado's consent. But on account of the progress of the world, times have changed, and it is the wish of our master, Chōshiu, as well as of ourselves, that the governing power should be restored to our real and legitimate Sovereign, the Mikado, while Tokugawa must resign his post of *Sei-i-tai Shōgun*. When this has come to pass, then the Empire will become peaceful, and foreign intercouse will be-

come freer and more cordial. But so long as we shall continue to have two rulers in the land, we shall have nothing but uninterrupted quarrels and troubles—just as is the case in a house with two masters."

He then requested me to aid in forwarding the Mikado's cause, by explaining the above facts and the position of the Choshiu clan in the light of these facts to foreigners, who, in general were not well instructed in the history of the country.

In the following October, Messrs. Kido and Ito again called on me and asked me to act as their agent in Nagasaki. They said that it was likely that they personally would be called away to Kioto and elsewhere and other officers would come on their Prince's business, and these officers they requested me to aid as far as it lay in my power to do so. Although I had been perfectly loyal to them they said, it would be as well to have the thing in writing. They further promised that when the port of Hiōgo should be opened to trade they would appoint me their *Sambitsu* (special commercial agent), and at the same time handed me the following document.

*The undersigned officers of the Prince of Chōshiu, on behalf of their Prince, have this day agreed to engage and do appoint Mr. J. Heco, a citizen of*

*America, to act as the Prince's special agent for the port of Nagasaki, Japan.*

(*Signed*) *Kido Junichiro,*
*Hayashi Uichi,*
*Hirobumi.*

* * * * * *

Under this agreement I acted as agent for Chōshiu in Nagasaki for two years without any remuneration. Nor did I ever hear anything subsequently of the appointment in Hiōgo offered by Messrs Kido and Ito. I ought also to remark that, in the previous September, Mr. Kido had asked me to find a foreign chemist for his government, and I had engaged my friend Dr. Vedder, of the U. S. ship *Jamestown*, who went to Choshiu in that capacity.

* * * * * * * *

Immediately after handing me the above document Mr. Kido asked whether I could not place Mr. Ito on board some English man-of-war on this station. I told him that although my acquaintance with English naval officers was limited, I fancied I could manage to carry out his request. A few days after this Admiral Keppel came in on the *Salamis* tender, and I asked for, and got a letter of introduction to him from the senior partner in our firm. Upon receipt of this I went off with Messrs. Kido and Ito to see the Admiral,

MR. KIDO.

who upon reading the letter, welcomed us very kindly. We then explained that the Prince of Chōshiu had lately ordered several men-of-war and gun-boats from England through an English firm in Nagasaki, and that although some of these would be out directly, they would be practically useless, since the Prince had no officers who knew anything of navigation, and that he (the Prince) was consequently exceedingly anxious to have some of his people placed on an English war-ship. The Admiral's answer was that it would give him great pleasure to comply with the Prince's request, and that Mr. Ito, or any other of his officers, would be welcome on board any of the vessels on the station, and that when the *Rodney* came in he would at once make the necessary arrangements with her Commander. Mr. Kido then said that his government would defray all the expenses, to which the Admiral said that that "would be all right when Mr. Ito got on board."

Shortly after the *Rodney* came in, and one fine morning I was able to go to Kido and tell him that I had received a letter from the Captain saying that Mr. Ito might come on board in a few days. Kido thereupon made an important communication to me. He said that it was the wish of the Mikado's party (i.e. Chōshiu, Satsuma, and Tosa) to have Ito placed on board an English war-ship

in order that he might watch events at Kiōto and Osaka from a distance. Satsuma, Chōshiu, and Tosa had sent in a memorial to the Government at Kiōto in which it was urged that the Shōgun should abdicate his position as ruler of the country. It was a bold step for them to have taken, and they fully expected that there would be considerable trouble among the Court nobles, as well as among the *Daimio* in consequence of their action. For they (Kido and Ito) did not believe that the Shōgun would give up his post so easily. He personally might be inclined to do so, since he would recognise the justice of their demand in the memorial, but his friendly *Daimio* and *Hatamoto* would strongly oppose the step, in which case there would undoubtedly be a civil war. It was in order that he might be able to watch and report what was toward in Kiōto and Ōsaka that they were so anxious to have Ito placed on board a foreign war-ship.

Hereupon at Kido's request Ito handed me a copy of the memorial (in Japanese) signed by the representatives of the three *Daimio* and sent up to Kiōto, and then they requested that I should explain the document to foreigners speaking against them. I should make it clear that the action of the associated clans was not directed against foreigners at all, but against the Shōgun and in favour of the Mikado.

Next day Kido left for his own country, while Ito remained to join the *Rodney*, which was bound for Hiōgo.

The day before his departure Ito came to my house, presented me with his photograph and brought some baggage which he wished to leave with me till he left. He invited me to dinner with him next day at his quarters in the native town, saying that the only other guest there would be Godai Saisuke, and that he wished to have a quiet talk with me before he left; so I went and found Godai already there. Before I went to the dinner I wrote to Ito asking what I should do with his baggage, when he wrote in English as follow:—

Dear Alec

Please you keep my
things at your place
I will take them when
I go on board this evening
and oblige
Yours truly
Ito Shimada

MR. ITŌ.

About 5 p.m. Godai went to keep an appointment while I stayed on till nine o'clock. At 9.30 p.m. we walked down to the jetty, where Ito got into his *sampan* and was sculled off to the *Rodney*, while I bade him *sayonara* and returned home.

In May, 1868, I again saw him in Hiōgo, where he was acting as the first Governor of the place under the new régime. He then gave me the following account of what took place after he had left Nagasaki on the *Rodney*.

The *Rodney's* voyage to Hiōgo had been much longer than he had expected, owing to her having stopped here and there while going up the Inland Sea. By the time he reached Hiōgo the troubles at Kiōto had already begun. The Shōgun had resigned his post, and had retired to his Castle in Ōsaka. Then followed the rising of his followers, and the Battle of Fushimi, which was lost to the Tokugawa cause mainly through the treacherous defection of Tōdō, who went over to the Mikado's party with 20,000 men. On account of all this the Shōgun's party had fired their own Castle of Ōsaka, and blown up the magazine, while the Shōgun himself had got on board an American war-ship at Tempozan and fled secretly to Yedo. And as a consequence of these events the Shōgun's authorities in Hiōgo had chartered an American

vessel, and taking with them all the treasure and the official documents had likewise sailed in her for the Tokugawa Capital.

When Ito learned the posture of affairs in Hiōgo he at once landed, and collecting a small body of men with flags and lanterns with crests, went to the vacant Custom-House and Governor's office and took possession of them in the name of Mikado. He thereupon wrote off to Kiōto informing his friends of what he had done, and requesting them to send down some troops for the protection of the town and the settlement.

On the following night 500 soldiers came in from the Capital. At the same time came an Imperial Commission appointing Ito Governor of Hiōgo, with authority over 4 Settsu and 8 Banshiu *gun*, with the title of Jiu-goi-gé. However, he found himself a governor with no money to carry on his government, for his predecessor, as already stated, had carried off every ounce of treasure in the place. So Ito called all the native bankers of Hiōgo together, and arranged with them for a loan upon the security of the local taxes. Subsequently he issued ¼ Bu *kinsatsu*, and with the loan and his paper money he was able to carry on the administration of the district.

A few days before Ito's departure on the *Rodney*, Kido casually informed me that in 1864 an

American adventurer had come to Chōshiu and bought the steamer *Lancefield* (which had been sunk by the *Wyoming* in 1863) for $30,000 and paid for her by a promissory note. He had taken away the steamer, but had never reappeared to redeem his promissory note. Could I recover the money for Chōshiu, or find out who the man was? I told Kido that if he brought the note I would bring the affair to the notice of the U. S. Consul. Mr. Kido said he would send me the note as soon as he went home. However he shortly after wrote me to say that although he had made careful search for the promissory note he could not find it, and the affair was then dropped.

One day Mr. Niro, a Councillor of the Prince of Satsuma and Mr. Godai invited the English Admiral, an English naval lieutenant, the principal of our firm, and myself to a Japanese banquet in one of the Nagasaki tea-houses. One of the items in the bill of fare was a living carp, cut into thin slices, with a bamboo in its mouth, and with its skin replaced over it. It was brought in on a large plate, and whenever it breathed, the bamboo in its mouth quivered. The Admiral said that it was cruel to serve fish in this style, and refused to touch it.

*October 19th.* I received a note from my friend Motono asking whether I could not get permission for a Minister of the Prince of Hizen to

inspect an American man-of-war then in port. So before I answered his letter I sent the following note to a lieutenant on board, whom I had the pleasure of knowing :—

DEAR MR. S. ——,

Will you be so kind as to inquire of your Captain, whether he has any objection to my bringing on board a Japanese official to inspect the vessel. I have been requested by one of the Cabinet Ministers of the Prince of Hizen to inquire, and he proposes to go on board to-morrow if your Captain has no objection. By your giving an answer to this by bearer I shall feel much obliged.

Yours truly,

(Signed) J. HECO.

When the letter reached the vessel, I received a reply, not from my friend, but from the Captain himself to the following effect:—

U. S. Ship "H——d,"

Nagasaki, Oct. 21st, 1867.

JOSEPH HECO, ESQ.,

DEAR SIR,

Japanese officials are welcome at all times on board the "H——d," but as we are coaling ship now, visitors would find it more satisfactory to them, if they deferred their visit for two or three days. If the Prince of Hizen wishes to visit the ship, the Admiral will be glad to receive him on board on Wednesday at one o'clock p.m.

Yours truly,

(Signed) ————————

Commander.

When I received the above note, I noticed that the commander mentioned a person whom I had never referred to in my note, but thinking that he might have misread my letter I thought it was

all right, and went straight to Motono and informed him of the contents of the note, and saw the minister for the first time. Both were quite pleased to wait for a few days and then go on board and see the vessel.

But on the following day, when I got to my office, I found a note which had come from the commander through a ship-chandler's chit-book. I opened it and read as follow:—

Nagasaki, 22nd October, 1867.

Mr. J. Heco,

Sir,—In your note of yesterday written to Lt. S——, of this vessel, you stated that the Prince of Hizen desires to come on board. Upon inquiry I am credibly informed that the Prince is not in town, and until the mistake made in your note is explained, neither yourself nor your friends will be admitted on board.

Respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) ——————

After I read the above note, I thought, surely I had made no such mistake. Still I thought it best to send for my note to Lt. S——. So I wrote him to return me my note of the previous day, to make sure of myself, and in the meantime I called at the ship-chandler's, and asked him whether the Commander of the *H*——, had been there. He said "Yes," and further added that I had written to him saying that the Prince of Hizen was in town, that he (the Commander) had asked him whether it was so? to which he had replied that he was not, for if he had been, he certainly would have come to

him (the ship-chandler) first. I then told the ship-chandler that I had not written anything of the kind; what I had written was that the Prince's minister was in town and would like to see the vessel.

When I returned to my office, I found a note from Lt. S—— with my note to him enclosed, so I perused my note, when I found I had not made any mistake. So I immediately wrote to the Commander, enclosing the note I had addressed to Lt. S——, on the previous day.

————————, Ship "H——,"

Commander, &c., Sir,

In reply to your note of the 22nd inst. in respect to some Japanese officers coming on board to see your vessel, I beg to state that the mistake was not on my part, but thinking that there might possibly have been some clerical error in my note (although I felt convinced that I could not have said that the Prince was to be one of the proposed visitors) and wishing to satisfy myself, I requested Lt. S—— to return me my letter, which together with his note to me, I now take the liberty to enclose for your perusal. From it, you will at once see, and, I hope, acknowledge that I have given no occasion for the accusation you have made against me, of having wished to mislead you in regard to the rank of the intending visitor. I feel much regret personally at the receipt of your note, as it has compelled me to make an unpleasant explanation to my Japanese friends.

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. HECO.

I sent the above note by our boat and got a receipt for it in our chit-book.

*October 26th.* Early this morning I received the following note from Lt. S——:—

The Captain told me this morning, that there had been some mistake about your wishes in regard to the Japanese officials, and has directed me to say that they would be welcomed whenever you may desire to bring them on board.

Yours truly,

(Signed) J. H. S——.

I suppose this was meant as an apology on the part of the Commander, but I had already explained the unpleasant occurrence to my friends and asked to be excused from accompanying them. So I could not take them on board, as they wished.

## VII.

*January, 1868.* In accordance with the Treaties, this year is to see the opening of the ports of Hiōgo, Osaka, and Niigata. In Nagasaki and Yokohama all the firms are busy with their preparations for the establishment of branch houses in the new ports—especially in Hiōgo—while the Japanese authorities for the last few months have been pushing on the erection of Custom-Houses, Governor's residence and houses for the officials.

Hiōgo was opened on the 1st, according to arrangement, and at once became a great centre of activity. Japanese began to flock to it from the interior and from the old Treaty Settlements, while Yokohama, Nagasaki, and the China ports all sent their quota of bearded foreigners on the hunt for the Almighty Dollar.

Meanwhile in the interior the utmost anxiety prevails. The presentation of the memorial of the three associated clans has produced a tremendous commotion. The other *Daimio* are already taking sides; some support the memorial in question,

others are bitterly opposed to it and the course it recommends, while many are quietly watching the course of events and cautiously biding their time.

At this date I received a letter from Mr. Kido-thanking me for getting Dr. Vedder for his Go, vernment, and informing me of the resignation of the Shōgun. The letter went on to say that that resignation and the restoration of the governing power to the Court in Kiōto would be the beginning of real amity and friendly intercourse between Japan and foreign nations. The writer wound up by asking me to give continued help to the new Government, for the good of the nation.—See Appendix A. (Fac-simile).

By the same post I also got a letter from Mr. Inouye Bunda.—See Appendix B. (Fac-simile).

And another later on from Mr. Ito.—See Appendix (Fac-simile).

These early days of 1868 were troublous times in Nagasaki also. Wild and disquieting rumours of the happenings in Kiōto and Osaka were ever arriving. We heard of the Shogun's resignation and withdrawal to Osaka. Then came intelligence of the fight at Fushimi, and the apparent utter overthrow of the Mikado's force, for when the news left Osaka the battle was still raging furiously. Then came the true report of the event; the tidings of Tōdō's desertion, and the hopeless defeat of the

Tokugawa men. Next the town was agitated by the announcement of the firing of Osaka Castle and the Shogun's flight in an American man-of-war (the *Iroquois*) from Tempozan.

It seems that His Highness reached Yokohama in safety and thence reached Yedo by land, where instead of entering the Castle, he went straight to the Temple of Uyeno. Here he requested the *Miya* (the Prince-Priest) to shelter him and to intercede with the Mikado on his behalf, for his (the Shōgun's) failure to keep his retainers in order and to make them hold their hands at Kiōto and Fushimi. The *Miya* being still a minor, the officials held a consultation as to the course to be pursued, and decided that it was better to transfer the ex-Shōgun from the Main Temple to the *Tai-ji-in*, or place reserved for the *Miya* in times of emergency. All this took place on the 10th day of the 1st Japanese month.

After the *Miya* and his officials had heard all the details of the recent occurrences at Fushimi and elsewhere, it was decided that the *Miya* should start for Kiōto to entreat the Mikado to pardon the Shōgun for having permitted his retainers to disturb the peace of the land. Accordingly the *Miya* set out on the 20th day of the 2nd month. But when he got as far as Shizuoka, he met Arisugawa-no-miya at the head of the Mikado's

troops marching upon Yedo. Here the two Princes had an interview, and as the outcome of it, the petition which the young *Miya* carried was handed to the Commander-in-chief, while he himself was requested to return to Yedo. After an absence of about a month he again reached his residence in Uyeno on the 19th day of the 3rd moon, and there waited for a reply from Kiōto.

Meanwhile the retainers of the ex-Shōgun had mustered at Yedo, and had asked to be allowed to protect their master's person while he was in Uyeno. They had swollen to quite an imposing force, and were formed into a regular army (under the self-assumed title of *Sho-gi-tai*) commanded by Kaku-ō-in, one of the priests of the temple. While Uyeno Temple and Park were occupied by this imposing array, Enomoto had seized the Bakufu fleet on the Shōgun's behalf, and having sent some of the vessels northward to support Aidzu, lay at Shinagawa with the others to aid the *Sho-gi-tai*.

All this complicated the situation. Meanwhile the ex-Shōgun, deeming it safer for himself to be in his old home of Mito, left Uyeno and retired there to await the Mikado's reply to his petition through the youthful *Miya*. Upon the Shōgun's departure, the officials of Uyeno Temple wished the *Sho-gi-tai* either to go to Mito, or to disband,

or at all events to withdraw from the place, seeing that there was no longer any excuse for their staying there. But the *Sho-gi-tai* were not slow to find one. Lately the Shōgun's property had been brought into the Temple for safe-keeping, and the *Sho-gi-tai* declared that it was their bounden duty to protect that. And from the spot they would not budge, until one fine day in June the Mikado's forces, which meanwhile had arrived in Yedo, fell upon them and routed them in what is known as the Battle of Uyeno.

I have remarked that even in far distant Nagasaki the throes of the *Ō-jishin* of 1868 made their tremors felt. There was wild commotion in the town after the fighting at Fushimi. At first we heard that Satsuma, Choshiu, and Tosa had been worsted in that battle and great was the consternation of the many officials of the associeted clans then in Nagasaki. They were fearfully agitated;—indeed to all seeming at their wit's end. On the night when the Satchō defeat was reported, Satsuma's agent, Kawaminami, secretly sent one of his officials to me to inquire whether I could protect him and his family in my house, in case his party should be worsted in the end. I told him that while I did not think there were any grounds to fear violence in Nagasaki, I should yet be most happy to welcome him and his family at any time. He

appeared to be much pleased and satisfied with my reply.

On the afternoon of the following day it was reported that Mr. Oki Naojiro, a Satsuma naval officer had held a consultation with Mr. Kawaminami in their *yashiki*, as a result of which they had opened negotiations with the Tokugawa Governor of Nagasaki and that an agreement had been made between them on behalf of their respective parties to the effect that "whichever side should be victorious at the seat of war, its adherents in Nagasaki should offer no molestation to the officers and students of the vanquished party then resident there, but should allow them 24 hours to leave the place after receipt of the news of a decisive battle."

This arrangement, when it became known, had a wonderful effect in calming the agitation of the place. Ahout a fortnight later the truth about Fushimi came out. The Governor had had timely notice of the event and had quietly chartered an American steamer, on which he and his officials with all the treasure in the place, stole secretly away by night, *en route* for Yedo *viâ* Yokohama. He went without notice to any one, foreigner or Japanese, leaving the place to take care of itself.

A few hours after the truth was known, it is said, the Satchō students suddenly waxed bold and

brave and urged their respective elders and chiefs in the place to lead them to seize the Governor's residence and the treasure. But the Satsuma chief refused on the plea that the 24 hours' notice agreement with the Governor prevented him taking any such action. The Tosa men, however, had already taken possession of the empty government offices, hoisting the red ball and their own flag on them, and taking up their quarters there.

In the evening one of the oldest Satsuma students got under the influence of liquor at a feast, and in that happy state went to his chief and again urged him to take possession of the Governor's office, treasure, "officials, and all." When his chief again refused the student rushed out in a passion, and staggered into the Governor's compound and up to the door-way of his office. His entrance was opposed by the inmates, but he insisted in the name of the Mikado, etc., etc., etc. The Tosa men took him for one of their enemies (Tokugawas) in disguise, and one of them opened fire on him with a revolver and brought him down.

This incident occasioned a deal of trouble between the Satsuma *v.* Tosa parties, the result as reported being that the Tosa man who fired had to commit *Harakiri.* Furthermore the Satsuma and Choshiu folks compelled the men of Tosa to lower the Tosa flag they had hoisted on the Government offices.

## VIII.

*February 12th.* To-day the following was circulated by the British Consul:—"Circular—The undersigned begs to circulate for the information of British merchants at Nagasaki, the accompanying communication received yesterday from the *Daimios'* officers, who, in consequence of the departure of the Governor and until the arrival of a properly constituted authority from the Mikado, have signified their intention of carrying on the Government of this place. As they have stated that they will respect the treaty rights of Foreigners, I consider that they are entitled to receive the Revenues derived from the Customs, &c."

(Translation of the note.)

Nagasaki, February 11th, 1868.

Sir,—We have the honour to inform you that in consequence of the departure of the Governor of Nagasaki, the officers of all the *Daimios* resident here, acting in concert with the local officials, will take measures for the prevention of acts of violence and other unlawful acts of Japanese towards foreigners, until the arrival of an officer appointed by the Mikado to administer the Government. You are therefore requested to notify that there is no cause for anxiety and that trade, etc., may be carried on as heretofore."

"It is also requested that you will prevent acts of violence and

other unlawful acts on the part of British subjects towards Japanese." We have, &c., (Signed) by *13 Daimios' Agents* (Officers forming the Committee for the temporary Government of Nagasaki.)

*February 13th.* Yesterday afternoon we received intelligence from Kiōto to the effect that the Shōgun (Hitotsubashi) has made a reply to the demand made by the Mikado's Government sometime ago, that he should resign his post as Ruler, and restore the power to the Mikado. His reply is said to be as follows:—

Masayoshi to the Ten-nō (or Mikado).

Upon consideration of the present changeable state of the political affairs of our country, I find that in the olden time the Mikado retired from his active duties and assigned ruling power to the then created military authority. Since that time to the present my ancestors have been favoured to hold that position and have continued to do so, in succession, for a period of two centuries or more. But at present the time has changed and has advanced so far as to render me unable to act and govern the country as has hitherto been done by my ancestors, which I consider to be my misfortune, although it is to my shame to have to make such a statement to Your Majesty.

I must say, however, that this is owing to the increased intercourse with foreign nations from day to day.

It is therefore necessary that the laws and orders, as well as the governing power, should proceed from, and be vested in Your Majesty, and for you to change the old laws into new, without which it will be difficult to govern the Empire.

I now therefore beg to hand back the Government to your Majesty and am prepared to co-operate with Your Majesty as well as with all the *Daimyo* in the Empire in governing our country for the good of the people at large. And in case any one should have better views than I have stated above, I have requested the *Daimio* to come forward and to work together for the common good, and thus I think we can equalize our power with that of other nations.

In my opinion, however, I consider that the view I have stated will prove better adapted to the times than any that can be brought forward by others.

(Jan'y, 1868.) Stated with respect &c.

The following is said to have been addressed by the Mikado to Masayoshi through his Secretary:—"The Government hitherto has been vested in you and your ancestors for many years, but you give it as your opinion that in the present advancing age, it is expedient that the governing power should be restored to the Mikado. He believes, also, that this would be better for the country and has directed me to request that you shall co-operate with His Majesty in promoting the welfare of the Empire."

*March 25th.* As I had been requested by the principal of the firm to come up to Ōsaka, I took passage per *Costa Rica*. On my arrival at Hiōgo I noticed that the place had greatly changed since my last visit in 1866. The town was opened to trade, and the little town of Kobe had become the port and foreign settlement at Hiōgo. The harbour full of vessels at anchor of all sizes and classes; — foreigners numerous, and everything lively.

Next day I went up to our branch house in Ōsaka. Here a few days later Governor Godai called upon me and requested me to go to Yokohama in conjunction with Mr. F. G. of our firm, to

negotiate the transfer of the ram *Stonewall* to the Mikado's Government by the U. S. Minister. And that takes us back to the old contract for three men-of-war entered into by the Japanese Government with the U. S. Minister in 1862.

It seems that only one of the three vessels had ever come out, the gunboat *Fusiyama*. In the meanwhile the *Monitor-Merrimac* incident had revolutionised naval shipbuilding and in lieu of two old-fashioned vessels, a ram—the *Stonewall*—had been sent out to Japan as a full settlement of the original contract. But at the time she entered Yokohama port, the rebellion was in full blast, and since (although she flew Japanese colours) she was manned by an American crew, the new U. S. Minister thought it advisable under the circumstances to hoist the Stars and the Stripes and to keep the vessel in his own hands till it became clear whether it was the Shōgun's party or the Mikado's party that was to be regarded as the governing power in Japan. The surrender of the vessel to one or other of them was a question of the utmost importance to the contending factions, inasmuch as it would have a great moral effect upon all waverers as a practical recognition by a great foreign power of one or other of them as the legitimate rulers of the country. Hence the extreme anxiety of the Mikado's party to get possession

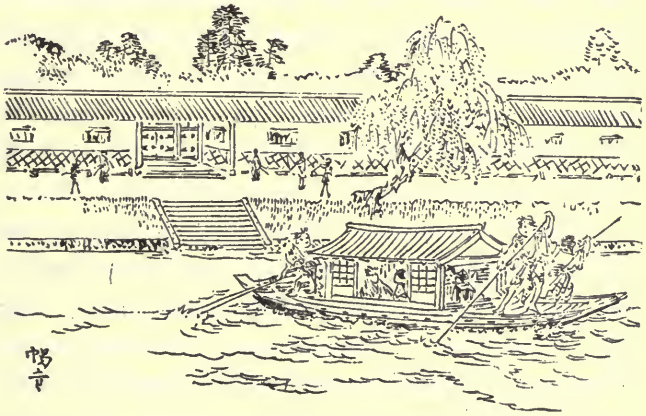
of the vessel, which they fancied would bring a speedy end to the struggle. On reaching Yokohama Mr. G. went to interview the British Minister, while I went to the Kencho to consult with the Governor and to find out how far negotiations had proceeded before going to call upon the U. S. Minister to explain the "situation" to him. However, the Vice-Governors, Terashima and Iseki, informed me that my Minister positively and absolutely refused to deliver the *Stonewall* to any party as long as the so-called rebellion lasted, and that it would be perfectly useless for me to go to see him. Meanwhile Mr. G. had been told as much by the British Minister. Thus our visit to Yokohama was fruitless. In about a fortnight we went back to Ōsaka and made report of the ill success of our mission to Mr. Godai.

*July 27th.* Early this morning I was aroused by Mr. Motoyama, of Hizen, who had been sent direct to me by his Prince to get a foreign physician for His Highness at once, since he was suffering acutely from rheumatism. Inasmuch as there was no foreign medical man in Ōsaka, I applied through Col. Scott Stewart, the U. S. Consul in Hiōgo, for a naval doctor, and obtained the services of Surgeon Boyer of the *Iroquois*, then anchored at Tempōzan.

*July 27th.* As the Consul wished to accompany us to Kiōto it was found necessary that he should

go as the Surgeon's assistant, for the Prince of Hizen had obtained leave from the Mikado's Government merely to bring a foreign doctor to Kiōto, and no one else. The Consul was quite pleased with this arrangement, for thereby he would be one of the first foreigners to see the Sacred City of Kiōto in modern times.

*July 28th.* We went in our boat as far as the Prince's Ōsaka *Yashiki*, where we found the Hizen agent with a covered house-boat ready to accompany us as far as Fushimi.



The agent told us that we ought to take nothing with us but our clothes and a boy to cook our food, since everything, with the exception of meat, would be provided for us.

At 7 a.m. the Consul, the doctor, the officer,

the agent, myself, and Shunske, the Consul's boy, got into the boat and set off up the river. We reached Hira-kata, the half-way station, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and as the wind had died away, we thought best to land there and stay over night with the intention of proceeding by land next morning. The officer wrote to Kiōto informing the Prince of our arrival and of our intention, and requesting an escort for the remainder of our journey. A little after midnight we were awakened by a great noise in an adjoining tea-house, and found that it was occasioned by the arrival of the escort. It consisted of some 50 men armed with Spencer repeating carbines, and commanded by a lieutenant and two sergeants. These men were sturdy and well-drilled, and the most polite, orderly and well-behaved soldiers any of us had ever seen.

Next morning at 6 o'clock we left on foot and in *Kago*, for Fushimi, a large and flourishing place, famous for the manufacture of dolls and other toys. In less than two hours time we passed a gateway defended by several pieces of artillery planted on mud-walls, and held by a band of troops that belonged to the Chikugo clan. This, we were told, was the first gateway on the western entrance to the sacred city of Kiōto. At 10.30 a.m. we reached Yodo, the late battle-ground between the Shōgun's and the Mikado's forces.

The traces of the fight was still only too apparent ; the town had been burned to the ground and was mostly a mass of ruins, while the Castle was scarcely a Castle any longer. We soon afterwards crossed the river Yodo and reached Fushimi, where we found the Prince's officials who had come all the way from Kiōto to meet us. They conducted us to the finest tea-house in the town and provided us with a sumptuous repast in semi-European style. Much to our astonishment, they provided us with chairs, forks and knives, and everything else, not forgetting a fine assortment of choice wines. We again started forth, this time on horseback, with our escort on foot. At 4 p.m., just as we reached Gojō Bridge, we were overtaken by a heavy thunder-storm, which caused our horses to rear and bolt, while our staunch and trustworthy escort scattered in all directions and disappeared incontinently. In half-an-hour we reached the Prince's *Yashiki* at the far end of the city, and were courteously welcomed by his household and conducted straightway to the bath in our quarters (No. 7 on the plan.) Inasmuch as we had been soaked to the skin by the storm, and as our luggage had not arrived, we were constrained to borrow the officer's summer-garments (yukata). While in this guise we were told that the Prince was most anxious to see us at once. We made excuse on the ground that it would be most

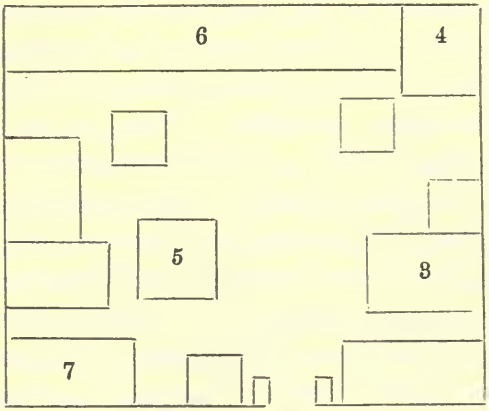
improper for us to appear before such a high personage in our present condition, but were assured that "it would be all right." However, the figure we cut was a sufficiently ludicrous one; especially so in the case of the Consul, who, being a big and powerful man standing over 6 ft., found the Japanese *yukata* all too scanty for his gigantic proportions. For it barely came down to his knees. And add to this, the Japanese wooden clogs on our feet, with a Japanese servant, on each side of the Doctor and the Consul as their supporters.

We were conducted into the Prince's quarters, to the right of the gateway marked 3. We entered a large, finely-matted room, in the centre of which was a semi-foreign bed, on which the Prince lay. Round it were several large golden screens, and on the outside of these, some 16 or 18 retainers in *hakama* and *haori*, with small swords in their sashes, were seated on the mats, silent as so many stone-idols. We were shown to the three chairs placed by the Prince's bed-side, by Mr. Nakano, the Minister, and by Mr. Katayama, the personal attendant of His Highness.

We bowed and seated ourselves, and the Prince then expressed his pleasure at seeing us, politely saying that we must have been much fatigued by coming so far on such a hot day. The

Prince looked very thin and wasted as he lay there wrapped up in a rich silk *futon*, and spoke in such a weak tone that at first we fancied he must be near the point of death. However, after his first utterance, he sat up like a healthy man and said to me quite briskly, "I am much obliged to you for bringing the foreign doctor so far in such hot weather. I trust you find yourselves provided with comfortable quarters." I replied that we did, and then asked how His Highness felt, and what it was he was suffering from. The Prince said that even from his boyhood he had suffered from rheumatism, and the officer by his side then took upon himself the task of explaining the circumstances of the case. Thereupon Dr. Boyer felt his pulse, and found that it beat 37 to the minute. At this the surgeon expressed astonishment and asked whether it ever beat any faster. The officer said that 37 was its normal state, and had been since his birth; it was never known to go beyond 45. Thereupon the Doctor asserted that although he had felt the pulses of several thousands of people he had never found one so low as the Prince's before.

After he had finished his diagnosis the surgeon said he would make up medicine for the Prince from his medicine chest when it arrived, and send it to him. And therewith the interview terminated.




PLAN OF HIZEN YASHIKI, KIOTO.

3, Prince's quarters. 4, Councillor's quarters.
5, Where we viewed Kioto. 6, Race-course. 7, Our quarters.

At 6 p.m. our baggage and the medicine-chest arrived and Dr. Boyer at once made up the medicine and sent it in to the Prince by his *osoba* (pages). At 7 p.m. we had dinner, when we met Mr. Sano, who had been to Europe with the Tokugawa Embassy of 1864.

*July 30th.* Before breakfast we visited the Prince and found him much better. He had slept well overnight, and said he had regained his appetite.

After breakfast, as we had nothing special to do, the Consul and the doctor expressed a wish to go out and see the city. I asked the Hizen officers if we might do so and got an emphatic negative for a reply. They said it was too dangerous;

many *Rōnin* and members of the *Jō-i* party were roaming about, and would be only too glad of a chance to try the mettle of their swords on foreigners. But if we wished to see the city we could do so from the fire-look-out on the top of the house. Thereupon the three officers conducted us to this fire-look-out (No. 5 in the plan). Of course we could not get any very clear idea of what the city was really like; all that we saw was a huge sea of tiles, temple-roofs, pagodas and mountains in the distance. This was somewhat of a disappointment to the Doctor and the Consul, but under the circumstances there was no help for it.

In the evening a great crowd assembled in the street to look at us, for the people had learned of the arrival of the foreigners. They stayed in front of the *yashiki* till we went to bed at 11 p.m.

*July 31st.* After breakfast we visited the Prince again and found that the medicine had had a powerful effect upon him. As he felt much better, we stayed with him much longer than on the two previous occasions. He asked me many questions about foreign matters, and requested me to inform Mr. Katayama, his confidential attendant, of anything that might suggest itself to my mind as beneficial to his country.

The Prince had improved so rapidly that the doctor found it necessary to change his medicine,

and to do this it would be necessary to return to Ōsaka. So we mentioned the fact to the Prince and his attendants and told them that we should set out on our return journey next morning.

When we returned to our quarters we found two visitors there. One of these was Mr. Yokoi Heshiro (afterwards Minister of State and assassinated by a band of *Rōnin* in 1868), who came to consult the doctor and get medicine. After he went away, Doctor Boyer admitted a young Japanese doctor of about 30 years of age, who wished to consult him about his patient, the Princess. She had suffered from one of the diseases of women for a long time; would Doctor Boyer go with him (the Japanese doctor) to see her? Our doctor asked him whether he had examined his patient thoroughly. "No," he said, "he had not. It was impossible to do so in the case of such a high personage as the Princess." Thereupon Doctor Boyer said that while he would be most happy to go with him, it would be perfectly useless to do so unless be could thoroughly examine the seat of the disease, as it would be impossible to prescribe for the patient without doing so. The Japanese doctor said that the Custom of the country forbade that being done, and went away very sorrowfully.

After our visitors had gone, we were invited

to join the Hizen men at their horse-exercise in the course at the rear of the building (No. 8 on the plan). We went and enjoyed ourselves on horseback till tiffin time.

Early in the afternoon we received presents from the Prince. The Consul got two pieces of handsome embroidered silk and a lacquered Cabinet, and the doctor three pieces of handsomely embroidered silk *obiji* and 50 *rio* in silver, while 70 *rio* were sent for myself, and 10 for the Consul's boy, Shunske.

In the evening Mr. Nakano, the Prince's minister, entertained us at dinner in his own house in the North-East corner of the *Yashiki* (No. 4 in plan). At 4 p.m. Messrs. Sano and Katayama conducted us to an upstairs room of 16 mats in the Karo's house, and there dinner was served at 5 p.m. Besides the host and our three selves, there were Messrs. Sano, Katayama, and Motoyama—seven in all. Four men waited on us—not one single female servant being visible, as was customary among high officials on such occasions under the old régime. After dinner Mr. Katayama, who was reckoned one of the three best *watai-shi* in Japan, offered to recite some *watai* in accordance with the usual custom at Japanese dinners, although he said the Consul and the Doctor might no doubt think them strange and odd. After Mr. Katayama

had finished, the Consul in his turn said he would sing some American songs as they might be amusing to the gentlemen present. He accordingly lifted up his tuneful voice and sang the *Glory Halleluiah* and a few others. The evening passed most pleasantly; we kept it up till midnight, when we took our leave and retired to our quarters. Next morning at 10 o'clock we left the Hizen *Yashiki* on horseback, in the midst of an escort of 50 men, and set out for Fushimi. We reached the half-way station and found the Prince's officers waiting for us, with a table sumptuously set out with sweetmeats and wines for our refreshment. After tiffin and a rest of four hours we once more got on our way towards Fushimi. We reached that place at 5 h. 30 m. p.m. and were taken to a large temple. Here we again found the Prince's officers (who had gone ahead with the Consul's boy) ready to welcome us with a splendid dinner and fine wines as before. During the dinner, we were amused by the singing and dancing of the local *geisha*, who had been summoned for our benefit. And such is a fair sample of the way people of wealth travelled in old Japan, when the hours were of little value and folk had really time to live.

At half-past-ten we thanked the officers for all their kindness, said good-bye to them and got into the boat with Mr. Motoyama, who had come with

us to get the Prince's medicine, and in due time reached Ōsaka, having been entertained by the Prince and his officials in a way that was truly princely.

*August 2nd.* The doctor sent the medicine ashore, with directions and prescriptions and I handed it to the officer, who then went away. In about a week the Prince had so far recovered as to be able to set out for his seat in Kiushiu.

GOVERNOR ITO.

## IX.

*August 4th.* While I was at dinner Governor Ito came in, and I asked him to join me, but he said that he had dined already and had come to take me out on the river. So I ordered our house-boat and we started off up the stream. As we lay in the boat smoking, we talked about politics and various other things and in the course of our conversation I happened to remark that I had never seen my birth-place since I left it in 1850, and asked him whether I could not visit it with ease and safety now. "Certainly you can," he said, "and not only that, but I can place the *Orphan* at your disposal to take you there."

This *Orphan* was a little steamer he had bought for the Government a few months before. I at once accepted his offer, and it was arranged that we should leave for Hiōgo on her together on the following day.

And so at 3 o'clock next afternoon, with Governor Godai and his wife, we went down in a house-boat to Tempozan, and there Ito and I got

on board the *Orphan*, which straightway steamed out for Kobé. However, after half-an-hour, there was a break-down in her machinery, and so we got into a boat and went ashore next morning. This meant that I had to perform my proposed journey by land instead of by water.

*August 7th.* Having got my passport and several attendants, I started on my journey accompanied by several friends—all in *Kago*. Among these friends was Mr. M., the head of an American house in Kobe. On account of his size, we had to hire five stout fellows for his *Kago*, three to carry him while the other two rested.

After we had changed *Kago* at Akashi and passed out into the country beyond, we found the whole roadside lined with people in gala costume. On asking the why and wherefore of this, I was told that this 7th day of the 7th moon was one of the five great holidays of the year, and that all the neighbourhood had heard of the coming of Mr. M. and myself. Overnight Governor Ito had issued a notice apprising the people of the fact, and had given strict orders that at all the stations on the way our party should receive every attention and courtesy, and be charged no more than the usual Government rate for whatsoever we might need. It was the holiday and this notice combined that had drawn forth such a crowd, all

anxiously trying to make out which was the foreigner and which was I. But it seemed they could not.

When we got within a few miles of my town, my relatives and their neighbours came out to welcome me. But they could not distinguish which was I, and seemed to be sadly afraid, for they stood apart whispering to each other, and bowed to us all as we passed on. We reached our destination at 4 p.m. on a hot and cloudless day.

Alas! Alas! How things seemed to have changed. When I left the village in 1850, to my boyish eyes the houses had seemed large and splendid, and the street a magnificent one, and all through the years that had passed since then, that impression of the place had been an ever-abiding one with me. But now what a disillusioning!! The houses mean, and low, and almost squalid in appearance, the magnificent street of my boyish days a mere common roadway. For apart altogether from my exaggerated ideas of the size and appearance of the place when I left it, it had really decayed since 1850. Then it counted 62 houses; now it numbered no more than 30, and many of these looked only too like going the way of the two-and-thirty that had vanished.

All this was chilling in very sooth, but there was worse behind. Of the old faces many were

no more, while the rest had gone away; all the young people were utter strangers to me while the thronging crowd of sightseers from the neighbouring village was exceedingly irksome and trying at such a time. Accordingly I found but small joy in my visit to my native town, and I made my stay there a brief one. At daylight next morning I again set my face eastward and returned to Kobe.

## X.

*August 9th.* At Ōsaka I found a letter requesting me to return to Nagasaki. So I left Kobe on the *Costa Rica* on the 13th, and arrived in Nagasaki on the evening of the 15th. As we entered the harbour, a picturesque scene presented itself. It was the *Bon Matsuri*, and the hills on either hand and in front were one mass of twinkling lights, from top to bottom. The people were out worshipping the departed spirits in the graveyards of the city.

Towards the end of this month the Prince of Omura was nominated Governor of Nagasaki, while Mr. Inouye Bunda came down to act as his deputy. As soon as Mr. Inouye arrived he sent for me, and I at once called on him and congratulated him on his appointment.

*November 25th.* This day the Mikado is reported to have entered Tōkio for the first time. About the same time the Prince of Owari delivered up his citadel in Nagoya to the new government.

*January, 1869.* One day a steamer chartered

by the Prince of Higo through G. & Co., came in from Ōsaka, consigned to our house in Nagasaki. She carried some 800 Higo troops, and Sakio-no-Suke,* the Prince's younger brother. During the trip several swords, blankets, and paper-lanterns with coats of arm, had gone amissing, and as steamer's agents we were appealed to to help to find them. Accordingly I went on board and requested the Captain to institute a search for them, but he said that he could not do so with so many passengers on board. However he would do as I requested when he disembarked the troops in Higo. So the young Prince asked me to go with them to his country, and I went.

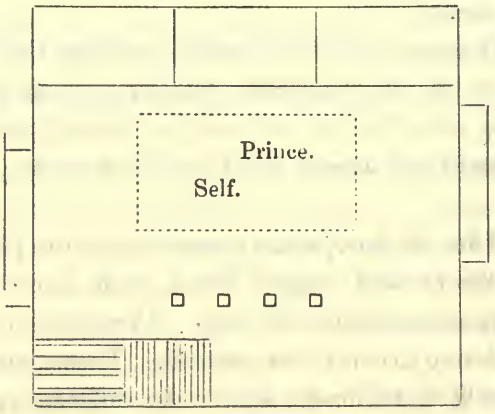
When we reached Ōshima in Higo, the Prince and 15 of his immediate followers went ashore, leaving word for me to come ashore and join them at Yatsushiro, where the Prince was to stay over night.

After the troops had disembarked, the Captain, his officers and myself went with some Higo officers and searched the ship. We found some of the missing articles, but not all. These had been hidden by the Chinese waiters in different parts of the vessel. Afterwards, escorted by two officers I went ashore at Yatsushiro, about one *ri* up the river. I was conducted to the *Komeya*, the Prince's

* Viscount Naga-oka.

agent's house, and conducted to a room in the third story. They told me that I was the first person to land on Higo soil in foreign costume.

The room I found myself in was one of 10 mats with a *tokonoma*, about half the floor being covered with a Brussels carpet. The Prince was seated in front of the *tokonoma*, and he placed me on his right side. Besides ourselves there were two *Karo*, who had come to congratulate the Prince on his safe arrival, and two officers in attendance on him—all in *hakama* and *haori*. These four sat together in a row about ten feet distant from the Prince. Thus:




KOMÉ-YA, YATSUSHIRO, HIGO.

As soon as I was seated the Prince handed me his cup, and an officer approached with the *saké* bottle and some beer, and the dinner began. The Prince

told the *Karo* to come up nearer to hear what I had to say about foreign matters. But he only said "*Hei! Hei! Arigato Gozarimasu!*" and bowed and would not approach out of reverence for him, and when he offered them his cup, they came up and received it, and at once withdrew to their seats. The Prince first told them that he had brought me all the way from Nagasaki to tell them about the manners and customs and progress in civilization of foreign countries, and to get some of their old-fashioned notions dissipated, and then he turned to me and asked me to tell them about America and other places.

At last I proposed to take my leave, but the Prince pressed me to stay there over-night inasmuch as the sky looked threatening. But knowing that the ship was waiting for my return, to get away for Nagasaki, I thanked the Prince for his kind invitation and good cheer, and bade him and his *Karō* good-bye, and set off escorted by two of his officers, whom he had ordered to see me safely on board the ship.

We had got about half-way to the vessel when it began to snow so heavily that we could not see ten yards in front of us. So we went ashore again at the mouth of the creek, meaning to stay there and not return to Yatsushiro, as I wanted to get on board next morning as early as possible.

There were only two huts at the spot where we landed (which place is called *Nusubito-jima*), so we went up to one of them and knocked and entered. We found an old man lying half-asleep close to the *Yuru-ri* (hearth) where a few billets of wood were burning, while a woman sat not far off spinning. "Master," said one of my companions, "we have been ordered to escort this gentlemen to the foreign ship off there, but the bad weather makes it impossible now. So we wish to lodge here for the night. So as this is *Go-yō* (Government business) please give us accommodation."

At this the old man got up slowly, rubbing his eyes with his hands, and looked at us quietly. "I have got no notice of *Go-yō* from the district authorities," he said, "and therefore I am sorry to say that I cannot accommodate you." Hereupon my two-sworded escort had to explain our situation, but inasmuch as the word *Go-yō* had been used by the first speaker the old man would not listen to the explanation. Upon this I recollected the old Japanese proverb, "*Even Hell's judgments are swayed by money*," and determined to act upon it. So I went up to the old gentleman and said, "It is a cold night and late, and we cannot get to our destination. These gentlemen are escorting me by order of their master. What they said about *Go-yō* is wrong, no doubt, but cannot you do me the

favour of allowing us to lodge here, like a good charitable soul?" As I spoke I quietly slipped two *Bu* pieces into his hand. As soon as he felt the cold silver he brightened up and said, "Why, sir, since you are the Prince's guest and a stranger in the place, I will certainly be most happy to accommodate you. But these two gentlemen used the word *Go-yō*. Now a notice of *Go-yō* has to come through the proper channel; if it does not, any claim for it must be regarded as a fraud even by such a poor fellow as myself." So saying he ordered his wife to bring out clean bedding and make beds for us all. Thus money proved the convincing argument, but as the officers were ignorant of this, they were greatly puzzled at the sudden change in the old man's demeanour. Next morning, however, on our way to the ship I told them, and they remarked that the incident really bore out the old adage about Hell's judgments and money.

*February 13th.* I started for Ōsaka on the *Hosho-maru*, a new gunboat that had just come out from England for the Prince of Chōshiu. I had to hand this vessel over to the Chōshiu authorities and receive $50,000 in part payment for her. From Chōshiu I was to go on with the treasure to Kobe in the steamer *Staunch*, which accompanied us. From Mitajiri, in Chōshiu, I sent notice of our arrival to the Prince's authorities and next morning the

*Karo* Sugi Magoichiro, with Mr. Yamao Yozo as interpreter, came down. After a trial trip they took over the steamer, and paid me 35,000 *rio* in place of the sum of $50,000. I immediately transhipped all hands from the *Hosho* into the *Staunch* and left for Kobe, where I arrived on the 17th and handed over the money to our house. Then I went on to Osaka to take up my quarters there.

*May.* One morning this month the Prince of Higo sent his agent to me to tell me that he had chartered the foreign steamer *Sakura* to take himself and several hundred of his troops to Higo, and that although he had several Japanese interpreters he feared that they would not be equal to the occasion in case of any trouble between his men and the foreign crew on board. Would I therefore consent to accompany him?

I agreed to go, and getting aboard next day I reached Higo in due course, where the Prince and his men were safely landed. For this service the Prince sent me five rolls of white silk (*Habutai*), and 5 rolls (20 pieces) of white crêpe as a present.

*June.* We heard from Hongkong that inasmuch as the Chinese did not readily accept the pieces struck by the mint established there a few years before, the authorities wished to dispose of it altogether. As the knew that the Japanese were in a

difficulty about their currency, the Principal of our house suggested that I should interview the Vice-Governor and find out whether the Japanese Government would not buy the Hongkong mint, as it could certainly be had for a low price. When I asked Governor Godai about this he was delighted. "But," he said, "please wait a few days until I write up to the capital and get the sanction of the Central Government there." A few days later on, he sent for me and informed me that his Government would buy the Hongkong mint complete for the price named, allowing our house a certain amount of commission on the transaction. Mr. Thos. Waters was engaged to build and fit up a place for it, and thus the Ōsaka mint came to be established at a very moderate cost.

*July 10th.* I was told that my services were required in Nagasaki, so I left Ōsaka in the *Nepaul*, and reached the southern Treaty Port on the 15th.

During the month of August rice rose to famine-prices, and in consequence the poorer classes of people began to hold meetings and to become very excited. And this excitement culminated in what was called the "Break-up-rice-shop" riots. One evening about half-past nine, when I was in the quarters I leased in one of the so-called Chinese temples, I suddenly heard a great crashing and commotion

in the neighbourhood. I looked out, and saw stones rolling on the adjoining roofs, and the tiles coming tumbling down into the street, and an infuriated mob tearing down the houses. It was the rice-shops that were receiving most of rabble's attention. These riots went on for several evenings, and all the rice-shops were either completely sacked or at least badly damaged with the single exception of one near the Yama entrance. The proprietor of this place was clever and saved his shop by a really artful dodge. Before the rioters arrived he made his own servants cover their faces with Japanese towels, arm themselves with old brooms and bamboos, and set vigorously to work overturning empty rice-boxes on the floor and rattling them, which seemed like smashing them into pieces. When the real rioters came along and saw all this apparant destruction going on in the midst of a terrible pandemonium of hoots and shouts and yells they passed on, remarking "that things were going all right there."

In the latter part of the year I gave a translation of the U.S. naval regulations to the Prince of Higo, who was expecting the arrival of the *Riu-jō-kan*, a war-ship he had ordered, and which he had so far made no arrangements about manning. Next year (1870), in return for this, the Prince sent me a gold *ōban*. This is a Japanese gold coin,

specially struck to be given as a present and not for circulation.

On the 4th of January, 1870, Capt. J. M. James arrived from England with the *Riu-jō-kan*, a man-of war which had been ordered by the Prince of Higo, and on the 10th, the *Karo*, Midzuguchi came to inspect and take delivery of the vessel. I conducted himself and his suite on board and was taking them into the cabin when all of a sudden Midzuguchi came to an abrupt stop. As I looked at him in wonder, he said, "I cannot go in, for the carpet on the floor has the Prince's crest upon it. Please take it up." So I had to request Capt. James to do so.

When the Higo party had gone ashore Capt. James informed me that the carpet and table-cloth embroidered with the Prince's crest had been specially ordered by the Principal of the firm, thinking that it would greatly please the Japanese. But his action only afforded one more instance of the difference in the points of view of the Oriental and the Western. From time out of mind in Japan a Prince's crest had been as a sacred thing to his retainers and subjects, and by them not to be treated lightly—even at that time.

And this circumstance recalls a peculiar incident to my mind. During my first visit to Higo in 1869, the young Prince Sakio-no-suke

wrote something in Chinese characters, which not suiting him, he tore up and threw on the floor. Wishing to see what he had written I picked up one of the pieces, whereupon one of his retainers near me asked me for it, while the others picked up the pieces and put them carefully away. I was afterwards told that this was because the retainers in those days looked upon their Prince's writing as equally sacred with his hands, and did not like any stranger to get possession of any writing of their masters for fear it might be treated disrespectfully.

*February, 1870.* The Government began to persecute some 3,000 Japanese Christians, who lived around Urakami in the neighbourhood of Nagasaki, and deported them to some of the northern provinces to be disseminated among the non-Christian population.

Early in the year an Englishman (L.) contracted for a Railway loan and sent out engineers from England. Surveys were made between Yedo and Yokohama and between Ōsaka and Hiōgo. This was the beginning of the Japanese railway system.

*February 27th.* Another political assassination has been perpetrated at Yedo. Early in the morning a two-sworded ruffian entered the house of Hirozawa, one of the Councillors of State and

a Chōshiu man, and murdered him in his bed. The murderer then made his escape. The Government afterwards did all in their power to discover and arrest the assassin, but all to no purpose. To this day he has not been found.

It is stated in the Yokohama paper that in the early part of May a large number of arrests were made in Yedo and Kiōto. It transpired shortly after that another extensive conspiracy, headed by two young *Kugê*, has been on foot for some time past. These two misguided men, Otogi and Toyama, had been induced by seditious *Samurai* from certain clans to imagine themselves unfairly dealt with in the distribution of office and power which they considered were the natural appanages of their rank, and allowed themselves to become the nominal leaders of some of the wildest schemes to kill all the advisers of the Mikado, bring His Majesty back to Kiōto, and drive out all barbarians in the land, &c.

*May 7th.* On this day, for the first time since his arrival in the new Capital, the Mikado appeared in public. He rode or drove to Komaba-no-hara, a spot five miles from the Castle, and there reviewed a force of infantry, cavalry and artillery.

*June.* For the first time two Princes of the Blood have left the sacred soil of Japan. Both

have gone to prosecute a regular course of study, one in the U. S. and the other in England.

*July.* A new currency system has been established and mint regulations published by the Central Government. In the course of the year other important changes and reforms were effected. For administrative purposes the country has been divided into three *Fu* (the cities of Tōkiō, Ōsaka and Kiōto), into *Ken* governed by officials appointed by the Central Government, and into *Han*, which are provinces administered by their former Princes, or their relatives, and for the most part in accordance with the old laws and usages severally prevalent in them. These *Han* have been arranged in three classes according to their revenue, and it has been decreed that one-tenth of the revenue of each shall be set apart as the income of the *Chiji* or Governor, one-fifth of the remainder paid into the national exchequer for naval and military purposes, while the residue shall be devoted to the support of the public officers, and of the upper and lower gentry of the district.

On the 26th June the first so-called parliament met in Yedo, and occupied itself mainly with the details of the above scheme. But it was not productive of any marked results and was soon dissolved.

In the month of August the firm I had been

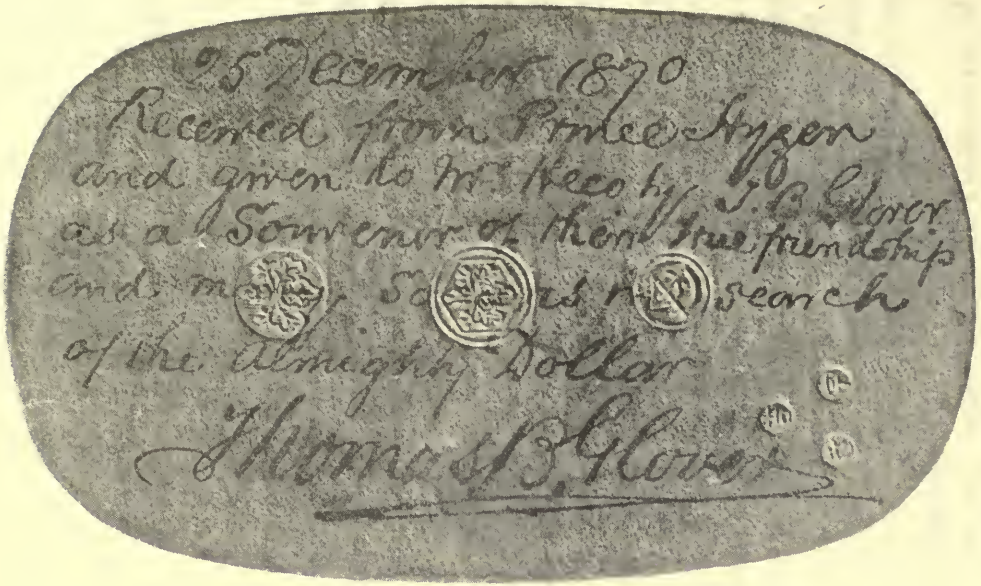
serving since 1867 failed all of a sudden. The first meeting of creditors was held at the English Consulate in Nagasaki on the 16th Sept., and on the 19th, the firm laid a full statement of affairs before them. From this it appeared that the liabilities were several hundred thousand dollars, of which about one-half were secured by mortgages to a certain party, while the other half was unsecured. The estimated assets were about 80 per cent. of entire liabilities. The cause of this sudden and unexpected suspension of business was peculiar. It seems that away back in the early days, the principal of our firm became acquainted with a certain person, who on his return to England sent out consignments of arms and ammunition for sale by the firm. At first trade in these was brisk and highy lucrative, and remittances were promptly made. Lately, however, the demand had decreased, profits had become small and several remittances to the extent of some thousands of dollars were in arrear. At this point the consignor of these arms learned that the firm had assigned a half-interest in a very valuable coal mine it held to another party, and thereupon he hurried out to Japan, reaching Nagasaki before the lapse of the period of 90 days which rendered the assignment legal and binding, and at once made an attachment on the firm. The result of this was that the assignee of

the half-interest had to advance a heavy sum to satisfy this claim and secure the assignment, while the firm had to suspend business. The unsecured creditors, among whom I had to be counted for a certain amount, had to sustain a very considerable loss.

*October.* For the first time in the history of the country, the Japanese Government issued a proclamation of neutrality, the occasion being the outbreak of the war between France and Prussia. However, the framers of the proclamation seemed to have overlooked some points (so say the local papers) that had an important bearing upon the safety of merchant vessels, and in consequence an incident soon occurred to illustrate the omission and to cause a lively passage of arms between the Ministers of the two contending nations.

*October 25th.* Left for Hiōgo this day. On arriving there I went to see the Governor, and applied for a passport to enable me to visit my native village, where I purposed to have a tombstone erected to the memory of my parents and of my brother. I received the passport and went down to the place, where I ordered a granite stone to be erected.

On my return I went to Ōsaka to see Mr. Thos. Waters. From him I learned that Mr. Inouye Bunda had been nominated Commissioner


25 December 1890
Received from Prince Seyfert
and given to Mr Keeo by J. B. Glover
as a Souvenir of their true friendship
and to remind him of search
of the Almighty Dollar
J. Hume J. B. Glover

A LARGE GOLD COIN, "OBAN."

of the Mint. So I called on him, and found myself warmly received. On the following day I and Mr. McK—— were invited on board the fine paddle-steamer *Nutless* (which Mr. Iwasaki, of the Tosa Sambitsu Kaisha, had just bought for $250,000,) and returned in her to Kobe.

*November 13th.* Left for Nagasaki by the *Oregonian* and arrived there safely in due course. I leased a house on the Bund and started business as a Commission-agent. At the same time I received an appointment from the Prince of Hizen to look after his interest in the Takashima coal-mine in conjunction with his agent, Mr. Matsubayashi.

*December 25th.* As an acknowledgment of services I had rendered in arranging the contract for the Takashima coal-mine between the Prince of Hizen and G. & Co., I received an *Ōban*, as shown in plate 5 with the inscription on it.

## XI.

*January, 1871.* It is reported that the Mikado has sent Iwakura Daina-gon to Prince Shimadzu in Satsuma with a sword and the following letter :—

"*Although I have taken over the reins of my government in accordance with my ancient rights yet I am like a man walking in the dark and feel myself quite at a loss as to how I should govern my people, for I am not yet accustomed to steering the ship of state. Therefore I ask you to come and attach yourself closely to me, like the feather to the wing, in order to aid me in carrying out the wishes of the nation, and to act jointly with those servants who now closely surround me.*

"*No ancient customs are to be interfered with, nor anything done to change the old into new institutions so long, as in your opinion, the old are suited to the nation and promote the welfare of the country. To this end I have appointed Iwakura Daina-gon to convey to you the foregoing message, and that he may instruct you in further particulars.*

"*I take this opportunity to send you an ancient*

*sword that was worn by one of my ancestors. I command you to receive it thankfully and to deposit it in the Temple of Terukuni Dai-mio-jin, to the end that the peace of the country may continue.*

*"Dated 12th month, 3rd year of Meiji, 1870."*

*March 28th.* On this date the great arsenal at Yokosuka was opened in the presence of the Ministers of State and of the Foreign Representatives, while a week later the Ōsaka Mint was opened under similar circumstances.

In June a foreign employé of the Government had been attacked and seriously wounded at Niigata. His assailant was never discovered.

In the month of August some high officials of my Prince passed through Nagasaki *en route* for Satsuma. They called on me and I showed them over the foreign settlement and entertained them to a foreign dinner, all of which was quite novel to them, inasmuch as this was the first time they had mixed with Europeans and seen their ways of living. When they left for Kagoshima, they handed me a document stating that from that date I was to receive a certain stipend from the Prince's Government in recognition of the attention I had shown his officials while they were in Nagasaki.

*October 24th.* To-day I received a letter from my friend Mr. Saito, an old Tokugawa official now in the Foreign Office, asking me to go to Tokyo and

join that department on a salary of $250 per month, with a furnished house. But as I was then engaged in arranging and compiling a whole chestful of accounts and documents bearing on the Takashima coal-mine, Mr. Matsubayashi, the agent of the Prince of Hizen, said he could not well do without me then. So perforce I had to decline this offer from my good friend Mr. Saito.

*October 25th.* I received a letter from my Prince, asking me to see him before his departure for Tokyo, since on account of the late changes in the Government it was likely that he would not again visit his Castle of Himeji. So on the 27th I started for Kobe on the *Costa Rica*. As soon as I arrived there I met the Prince, who was going on to Yokohama by the steamer that had brought me up from Nagasaki.

At our interview the Prince treated me as if he had known me for long years, although this was the first occasion on which we had seen each other.

I presented him with some foreign articles I had brought from Nagasaki. For these he thanked me, and also for my coming so far to see him. He then asked his officer to hand me a memorandum of the presents he made me—to wit, a piece of cloth for a garment with his crest on it, and 25 *rio*. It is held to be a great honour to receive the former,

for such a gift entitles the recipient from that time forth to wear the crest as a decoration within the territories of the *Daimio* who presented it. For under the old régime, no subject or official was permitted to have such a crest on anything without special authorisation. My Prince then requested me to go to his capital of Himeji, there to give his officers all the information about foreign affairs I could, and to make suggestions of what I fancied would be advantageous for his people under the new order of things. At the same time he directed his officer to accompany me to Himeji and see that I was well treated while I was there. The Prince was about nineteen or twenty years of age, slim-built, good-looking, quick, clever, and fond of foreigners and foreign things.

At 3 p.m. he went on board the *Costa Rica*, while I repaired to my friend's house.

*November 2nd.* To-day in company with the Prince's officer I started for Himeji, *viâ* my native village, where I wished to order two feasts for my relatives to be given on my return journey. One of those was to be in honour of my having received permission to wear my Prince's crest, and the other to commemorate the erection of the tomb-stone I had ordered during my former visit. I arrived and gave the necessary instructions to my aunt, and then proceeding we reached

Himeji about sunset, and took up our quarters in the *U-o-ichi*.

About six o'clock the *Karo*, who was acting as Governor, sent me his compliments and requested me to take a rest after my long journey, and without hesitation to ask the officers appointed to look after me for anything I wanted. I was told that, in accordance with the established and time-honoured custom in such a case, three days were to be allowed me to recover from the fatigues of my journey before the officers would give me an official reception. Shortly after this the three officers—Messrs. Kondō, Egarashi and Haruyama —appointed to attend to me, called and welcomed me as the guest of the Ken Government and requested me to call for anything I needed without ceremony.

*November 3rd.* I called on the acquaintances I had made in Nagasaki and made presents to them of certain articles I had brought for the purpose.

*November 4th.* As this was the Mikado's birthday according to the old calendar, the local Government offices were closed and the town was decorated with national flags. Upon the invitation of the Ken officials I went to witness the parade of the local militia in front of the old castle grounds. These troops, under the *Karō* Honda Iki, were

equipped in a semi-European fashion, being armed with rifles.

After this my friend Kondo conducted me over the Castle, which was originally built by the Taiko Hideyoshi. Under the old régime visitors were not as a rule admitted. The Castle is 130 feet from base to donjon, and is surrounded by a moat crossed by bridges at the 13 large gateways, and by several smaller ones inside. After entering the *Oté* or main gate, we passed seven or eight smaller gates before we reached the real entrance to the Castle. From this point we ascended several flights of stairs, till we finally reached the uppermost room. This contains several tens of mats; and it is said to be 7 × 5 *ken* and is called 100 mats room. From each of the windows, (one on each side) there was a splendid view. To the eastward, Ichikawa and an undulating tract of country; to the south the island-studded sea, while on the north and west the vista was barred by low ranges of hills, with a foreground of barley and millet fields. One of these hills is Shoshazan, with the monastery in which the great Benkei was reared. All the wood-work in the castle, though very old, looked as if made only the day before. It consists mainly of *Keyaki* and *Kusu*.

From the Castle we went to call on the *Karō* Kawai, who welcomed us warmly and invited us to tiffin. Mr. Kawai was a man of luxurious tastes

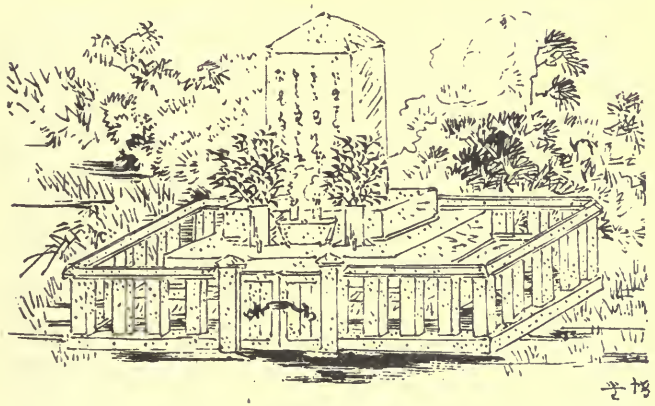
and fond of everything new. It was at his house that I first saw a *jin-rikisha.* It had just been invented, and although it was so far unknown in Kobe, here it was in all its pristine glory in rustic Himeji.

*November 5th.* This morning I was informed that the acting-governor would entertain me to dinner at his official residence, where I would meet all the officials of any importance and also some of my old friends.

At 5 p.m. a messenger from the governor came to fetch me and at a quarter to six we started. The acting-governor welcomed me, thanked me for coming so far to visit them, and placed me in the most honoured seat in the room. However, I tried to excuse myself from occupying such a high place; but in vain, the others insisting since I was the Prince's guest for the evening—and while I was there. At last the *Karō*, Honda, and I were placed side by side in front of the *Toko-no-ma.* The party consisted of some 60 guests, waited on by little girls of twelve or thirteen years of age and by 15 male waiters.

I remained altogether ten days in Himeji, during which time I was fêted and made much of; and on the eleventh I started on my return journey. On my way I stopped at my native village, and unveiled the tomb-stone I had ordered on my first visit,

and gave a feast to my relatives and to all the villagers.



On the 30th Nov. I returned to Nagasaki *viâ* Kobe.

*December 21st.* As I had a standing invitation from young Prince Sakio-no-suke* to visit Kumamoto, Mr. G. and I started overland to cross the Gulf of Shimabara on our way to the Capital of Higo. However, on arriving at our destination, we found to our great disappointment that the Prince had left for Tōkiō on the very day we had quitted Nagasaki. However, the officers gave us a warm welcome. On the 23rd we called upon the *Karō* Hirano, who summoned two of his officers and then shewed us over the Castle. This Castle was built

* Well-known as Baron, (now Viscount) Nagaoka.

by Kato Kiyomasa, one of Hideyoshi's famous generals, who held an important command in his Korean war.

It ranks as one of the four famous Castles of Japan. At the time of our visit it was a regular armoury of mediæval weapons. But the main hall was deserted and silent, with only a few stray watchmen to keep it. Its handsome wall-papers had been all cut and torn and scratched. This vandalism had been committed since the Revolution, for previous to the abolition of the Han and the transference of the place to the Central Government a few years before, no visitors had been admitted. As we climbed to the donjon, we noticed that although the wooden staircase was worm-eaten, its timbers were notwithstanding staunch and strong. The view from the uppermost room was magnificent. From the Castle a covered bridge (with windows) 60 ft. above the ground led over the moat to the *O-hanabata* or Daimio's residence. This stood in a flat, beautifully laid out with peach, plum, cherry and evergreen pine trees, with artificial mounds and ponds and water-courses filled by pipes from the main river.

The *Karō* told us that now only one half of this was reserved as a residence, the other portion having been surrendered as barracks to

the Central Government. But now the whole place was shorn of its beauty, the pipes had been broken, the water cut off, the ponds stagnant and all the runnels as dry as a bone. The *Karō* directed our attention to some half-dozen mediæval cannon and a bridge of two stone slabs over the pond. These, he told us, were trophies brought from Korea by Kato Kiyomasa, 270 years before.

In the course of our walk the *Karō* informed us that it was intended to petition the Central Government to allow them to demolish the Castle. This for two reasons. The first was that many of the *Samurai* were unwilling to see the fortress in the hands of the Central Government, and the second that so long as the Castle was in their own hands, Kumamoto would be regarded as a possible centre of disaffection and trouble by the Tōkiō authorities.

We deprecated this course, pointing out the vandalism of destroying such a noble monument of antiquity, and pointing out that in the present civilized Japan, no Government would ever suspect them of disaffection merely because the Castle stood. Whether our representations had any effect or not, the Castle remained intact till the seige by the Satsuma troops in 1877.

*December 24th.* Mr. Hirano showed us all over the interior of the Prince's residence. We

found it provided with summer and winter quarters, while one of the inner rooms was especially sumptuous, being richly papered, with a *jodan* laid with fine and costly mats. This room was said to have been specially kept for the Shōgun, when he visited Kumamoto Castle.

After we had seen the whole place, we went upstairs to the summer residence, where we saw many *Nagamochi* (long boxes), which held the Prince's curios, the accumulation of several hundred years. We were shown many fine specimens of art not elsewhere to be found.

Next day (Christmas Day) we started on our return journey and arrived at Nagasaki on the 26th. The summer of this year witnessed an occurrence that may be regarded as almost unique. In the early days of feudalism it was not unusual on the death of a *Daimio* for some of his most trusted and confidential followers to commit *Hara-kiri* and so follow him on the "dark path." This practice was called *junshi*. But in course of time it gradually died out; the last instance of it recorded having taken place at the obsequies of the third Tokugawa Shōgun, Iyemitsu, in 1650. But this year, when the old Prince of Hizen died, Furukawa, one of his retainers, after making all arrangements for his master's funeral, went and quietly committed *Hara-kiri* without giving any one the least hint of his

intent. This revival of *junshi* caused much excitement, and evoked much comment among the Japanese.

## XII.

*January.* From Kumamoto we hear that the Higo *Samurai* have been indulging in the pastime of pulling the noses of some of the national troops quartered in the town, while they have thrown their commander into a pond.

*February.* Great excitement prevails in Saga and Imari. There the *Samurai* have been holding meetings to discuss the commutation of their incomes, and wild talk against the new Government has been indulged in by some of the younger and more impetuous among them.

*March 1st.* From Chikugo it is reported that the *Samurai* of Yanagawa have burned down the Castle there, by way of shewing their aversion to the new order of things. It seems that at the time of the fire, large quantities of ammunition were being stored there. This caused a tremendous explosion which shook the country for miles around. At the same time, from Kumamoto we heard that the old *Samurai* had fired the part of the Prince's residence now used as a garrison, but this

report turned out to be incorrect. The conflagration was caused by a drunken tailor capsizing a *hibachi* while in his cups, and not awaking till the whole place was in a blaze. He himself was burned to death.

*March 11th.* Some Satsuma troops are reported to have been withdrawn from Tōkiō on account of political differences between them and the Hizen and Chōshiu troops.

*May.* During this month Mr. Ichigo, of the *Kobusho,* called upon me and asked me to join his department. About the same time, Mr. Motono, of the Finance Office in Tōkyō, wrote to me stating that Mr. Inouye had been appointed Acting-Minister of that Department and that he wished me to come up and take service under him. This latter offer I accepted, and left for the Capital in August.

The following translation was handed to me by my official friend at the local Custom House. It was said to be the draft of the first constitution established after the restoration:—

Last winter, when the Imperial Government was reformed, three offices were created, and subsequently eight departments were formed amongst which the duties of government were divided. These arrangements, made during a time of civil commotion, were necessarily hurried and imperfect; so the constitution and the offices of the Government have therefore been remodelled with a view to ensure the fulfilment of the Imperial Oath. This cause is by no means the result of a mere desire for change, but is prompted by the necessity of establishing those Laws and regulations which have hitherto remained undetermined. As, therefore, there is no departure in principle

from what has been previously asserted, it is necessary that all officers of the Government bear this in mind and rigidly observe the fundamental principle here laid down, performing their duties in perfect confidence, so that permanent security and comfort may be ensured to the people. Dated June, 1868.

(Signed) *Daijō-kwan.*

*Art. I.* In ascertaining the national wishes and establishing laws and regulations the Imperial Oath is adopted as a guide. The *Oath* is as follows:—The practice of discussion and debates shall be universally adopted; and all measures shall be decided by public argument.

High and low shall be of one mind, and social order shall thereby by perfectly maintained. It is necessary that the civil and military powers be concentrated in a single and whole body, that the right of all classes be assured and that the national mind be completely satisfied.

*Art. II.* All power and authority in the Empire centres in the *Daijō-kwan.* By this means the difficulty of a divided Government is obviated. The power and authority of the *Daijō-kwan* is threefold,—legislative, executive and judicial. Thus the balance of authority is preserved amongst the different branches of the Government.

*Art. III.* The legislative branch cannot possess also executive functions, nor can the executive branch possess legislative functions. Only extraordinary inspections of the great cities and extraordinary foreign questions can be undertaken by the legislative branch.

*Art. IV.* The reason why appointment to the highest rank of officers is limited to Princes of the blood, the nobles of the court and the territorial nobles, is because due affection should be shown to the relations of the sovereign and due respect to great ministers of the State. The creation of a class of Imperial officers (Koshiu) out of the retainers of the territorial nobles and from the common people, and raising these to be officers of the second rank is in order that honour may be given to wisdom.

*Art. V.* Every city, clan, and Imperial territory shall furnish "Ko-shu" to be members of Council. The object of establishing the system of a deliberative body is that open discussion and the opinion of the majority may be secured.

*Art. VI.* The object of establishing a system of relative ranks is that each may be made to know the importance of the office he fills, and not bring it into contempt.

*Art. VII.* Princes of the blood, nobles of the Court and territorial nobles shall be accompanied by six two-sworded men and three lackeys, and persons of lower rank by two-sworded men and one lackey. This is in order to do away with the appearance of pomp and grandeur; and to prevent the existence of a barrier between classes.

*Art. VIII.* Officers shall not discuss the affairs of the government in their own houses with unofficial persons. If any person desires an interview with them for the purpose of giving expression to his own opinions, he shall be sent to the office of that department and the matter shall be openly discussed.

*Art. IX.* All officers shall be discharged after four years' service. They shall be appointed by a majority of votes given by ballot. When the first period for changing the officers of the Government arrives, half of the present staff shall be retained for an additional space of two years, in order that there be no interruption of the public business. Such as cannot be conveniently dismissed, because they have won general approval, must be retained for a further period of years.

*Art. X.* The object of establishing a system of tribute to be paid by the *Daimios* and lower classes, the farmers, the artizans and the merchants, is that funds may be provided for defraying the expenses of the Government, that the military establishment may be kept up to an efficient standard, and that the people be protected. Persons possessing rank and offices shall contribute one-thirtieth (1/30th) of their revenues or salaries.

*Art. XI.* The Government in each of the great towns, clans, and Imperial territories must be conducted in accordance with the principle laid down in the Imperial Oath. The municipal law of one place must be held binding on all others. No rank may be bestowed, no money may be coined, no foreigner be employed without special permission; no alliance may be entered into between neighbouring clans, nor between a clan and a foreign power. This is in order that there may be no conflict of greater and lesser authority, no confusion in the Constitution. The *Daijō-kwan* is divided into seven Departments.

*I.* The deliberative assembly is divided into an Upper and Lower House; the *Gazette* Office is subordinate to it.

*A.* The Upper House consist of—1st,—Gijô.—Princes of the blood, nobles of the Court and territorial nobles are eligible for the office.

The two Chief Ministers of the State (Hōsho) must be *Gijô*. The functions of the *Gijô* embrace the establishment of the Constitution, the enactment of laws, the decision of questions of policy, the selection of men to fill the offices of the three higher ranks, the supreme judicial power, the conclusion of treaties and the making of peace and war.

2nd. *San-yo*—Nobles of the Court, territorial nobles and their councillors *(Karo)*, two-sworded men and ordinary persons are eligible for this office. The functions of the *San-yo* are the same as those of the *Gijô*.

3rd. Four Secretaries.—High officers (*Daimio* and *Karo*), two-sworded men and ordinary persons are eligible for this office. The duties of the Secretaries are to draught documents, to draw up memoranda on subjects indicated to them and to edit the *Gazette*.

4th. Clerks.

*B*. The Lower House. 1st, two Presidents of debate, who must be *Benji*. 2nd, ordinary members or *Koshin*. The subjects which the members discuss under the orders of the Upper House are as follows:—Revenue Laws, Post Regulations; weights and measures, new conventions and treaties with foreign powers, regulation of interest and foreign commerce; colonization; declaration of war and conclution of treaties of peace; apprehension of criminals by land and water, enlistment of soldiers and the commissariat, military estimates, erection of fortifications, arsenals and military store-houses in *Daimio's* territories, disputes between different clans. The above department exercises the legislative power.

*II*. Office of the Lords. President of the Council. 1st. Two Chief Ministers of State (Hōsho) who must also be *Gijô*. Their duties are to act as advisers to the Sovereign; to report to him the subjects of debate in the assembly and to receive his decisions thereon; to exercise supreme control over internal affairs and to direct the administeration of the Imperial Household.

2nd. *Ten-Benji*.—Nobles of the Court, territorial nobles and their councillors, two-sworded men, and ordinary persons, are eligible for this office. The *Gon-Benji* are also appointed from these classes. Their duties are to carry out the orders of the Chief Ministers of State in all matters, domestic as well as foreign, and to keep the Chief Ministers acquainted with matters relating to the administration of the Imperial Household.

3rd. *Gon-Benji*. Their duties are the same as those of the *Benji*. In the same way the duties of the *Gon-han-kunji*, the *Gon-han-chiji*

and the *Gon-han-fuji* (mentioned in subsequent sections) are identical with those of the *Han-kuanji* and *Han-fuji*.

4th. Six Secretaries. Their duties are to draught Imperial decrees, reports to the Emperor and all other documents, and to take cognizance of the style of documents. 5th. Clerks. The above department exercises the supreme executive authority.

*III.* Department of the Shinto Religion. 1st. One *Chikuanji* (Minister),—Princes of the blood, nobles of the Court and territorial nobles are eligible for this office. All other *Chikuanji* are chosen from the same classes.

The Minister for the Shinto Religion possesses supreme control in matters relating to the worship of the Gods, and over the different classes of the priest-hood.

2nd. One *Fuku Chikuanji* (Vice-Minister),—Nobles of the Court, territorial nobles and their councillors, two-sworded men and ordinary persons are eligible for this office. The same is the case with the *Fuku Chikuanji* of other departments. The duties of all *Fuku Chikuanji* are identical with those of the *Chikuanji* of their respective departments.

3rd. Two *Han-kuanji*. Nobles of the Court, territorial nobles and their councillors, two-sworded men and ordinary persons are eligible for this office. The *Han-kuanji* of other departments are chosen from the same classes. Their duties are to keep the *Chikuanji* acquainted with the business of their respective departments.

4th. *Gon-han-kwanji*. Nobles of the Court, territorial nobles and their Councillors, two-sworded men and ordinary persons may be appointed to this office. The *Gon-han-kuanji* of the other departments are chosen from the same classes.

5th and 6th. Writers and copyists.

*IV.* The Finance Department has the control of seven Offices or Bureaux, namely, the Bureaux of accounts, estimates, posts, building and repairs, customs, excise, currency and municipal matters.

1st. One *Chikuanji* who has the surpreme control over matters relating to land and houses, land-taxes, public labour, estimates, public treasure, presents to the Mikado, salaries and wages, public store-house buildings, repairs, transport, posts, artizans, customs and excise.

2nd. One *Fuku-chikuanji;* 3rd, two *Han-kuanji;* 4th, *Gon-hankuanji*; 5th and 6th, writers and copyists.

*V.* The War Department. Two Sub-Departments and four Offices

or Bureaux are attached to this Department, namely, the Naval Sub-Department, and the Army Sub-Department, with the Engineering, Army transport, Military, Arms and Cavalry offices.

1st. *Chikuanji*, who possesses supreme control in matters relating to the army and navy, the militia levies, defensive and offensive operation; 2nd, one *Fuku-chikuanji*; 3rd, four *Han-kuanji*; 4th, *Gon-han-kuanji*; 5th and 6th, writers and copyists.

*VI.*—Foreign Department. 1st, one *chikuanji*, who is the Chief of the Department and has control of all matters relating to diplomatic intercourse with foreign nations, the superintendence of trade, and colonization. 2nd, *Fuku-chihankuanji;* 3rd, six *Han-kuanji*; 4th, *Gon-han-kuanji*; 5th and 6th, writers and copyists. The above four departments exercise the Executive Authority.

*VII.*—The Judicial Department, which has three bureaux attached to it, namely, the Censorate, Courts of Justice, and Police. 1st, one *Chiku-hanji*, who has the supreme control of all Law matters, over the censorates, impeachments, arrests and trials; 2nd, one *Fuku-chikuanji*; 4th, *Gon-han-kuanji*; 5th and 6th, writers and copyists. The above department exercises the judicial authority.

Local administration. The local administration is of three kinds. A.—The Great Cities. 1st, a *Fu-chiji* (Governor), whose duties are to facilitate the means of livelihood of the people, to develope the productions of the district, to promote education, to collect land taxes, to assess public labour, to make rewards, inflict punishments and to command the local militia. 2nd, two *Han-fuji*. B.—Clans or *Daimios'* territories. C.—Imperial territories. 1st, *Chikenji* (Collector of Revenue), whose duty is to facilitate the means of livelihood of the people, to develope the productions of the district of which he is Governor; to promote education, to collect land-taxes, to assess public labour, to adjudge rewards and punishments, and to command the local militia. 2nd, *Han-kenji*.

The Ranks and Precedence. 1st, offices of the first rank, *Hoshô* (Chief Minister of State), *Gijô* (Princes of the Blood and nobles-members of the Upper House of the Legislative Assembly, *Chikuanji* (Heads of the Departments, Naval and Military Commanders of the 1st class).

2nd. Officers of the 3rd Rank. *Sanyo* (Members of the Upper House, not being Princes of the Blood), *Fuku Chikuanji* (Vice-Ministers), *Chifuji* (Governors of Cities), Naval and Military Commanders of the 2nd class.

THE EMPEROR'S VISIT TO NAGASAKI, JUNE, 1872.

3rd. Officers of the 3rd Rank. *Gichō* (President of the Lower House), *Benji*, *Han-kuanji*, *Chikenji*, of the 1st class, Naval and Military Commanders of the 3rd class.

The above three classes are styled High Officers of State *(Daijin)* in communication with Foreign Powers.

4th. Officers of the *Gon-benji*, *Gon-hankuanji*, *Gon-hanfuji*, *Chiji* of the 2nd class.

5th. Officers of the Fifth Rank. Secretaries, *Chi-shiji* (chief of sub-departments), *Chi-kenji* of the 3rd class, *Han-kenji* of the 1st class.

6th. Officers of the Sixth Rank. *Han-kenji* of the 2nd class, Interpreters of the 1st class.

7th. Officers of the Seventh Rank. Writers, *Han-kenji* of the 3rd class, *Han-shiji*, Interpreters of the 2nd class.

8th. Officers of the Eighth Rank. Clerks, time-keepers, copyists, Interpreters of the 3rd class.

9th. Officers of the Ninth Rank. Student interpreters, messengers.

The Laws will be separately printed.

These rules and regulations must be faithfully observed by all officials. Should any alteration become desirable they shall be decided upon, after being submitted to a General Council.

*July 19th.* The Emperor arrived in the *Riu-jo-kan*. He landed and rode to his quarters attended by an escort of infantry. The people went out into the roadways to do him reverence; many of them taking mats to squat upon, as in the olden time. When the guards, instead of shouting "*Down on your knees!*" as in former days, ordered them to "*Stand up!*" the worthy inhabitants of Nagasaki were sorely perplexed. Many refused to obey the command, while several of them plainly said that the guards were trying to entrap the good people by giving them wrong and wicked orders.

## XIII.

*August 5th.* Mr. Oye Taku, Governor of Kanagawa, invited me to dinner at the English Club on the Bund. About 5 p.m. the Governor and Mr. Motono, Superintendent of Customs, called for me to take me out for a drive before dinner. On the road to Mississippi Bay I found vast improvements. The road, to begin with, was now really a road; a fine race-course had been laid out on the outskirts of the Settlement, while the "Bluff" was studded with handsome private residences and laid out with fine gardens. Since 1866, the change had been really wonderful.

On reaching the Club I was introduced to Vice-Governor S——, and to Judge Nishi, of the Kanagawa Court. In the course of the dinner the former dropped rather a significant remark. "How strange it is," he said, "to sit down at dinner in a Foreign Club with a man I actually lay in wait for at Kanagawa for several weeks in 1863/4 to cut down for having adopted the customs of the foreign barbarians."

*August 9th.* Before leaving for Tōkyō I gave a Japanese dinner to some of my foreign friends together with the Governor and his staff, in the third story of Takashimaya's private residence, which I had hired for the occasion. The *menu* came from Sanomo's, which supplied the very best cooking to be had in Yokohama. The party came off very pleasantly, all the guests seeming to greatly enjoy the entertainment.

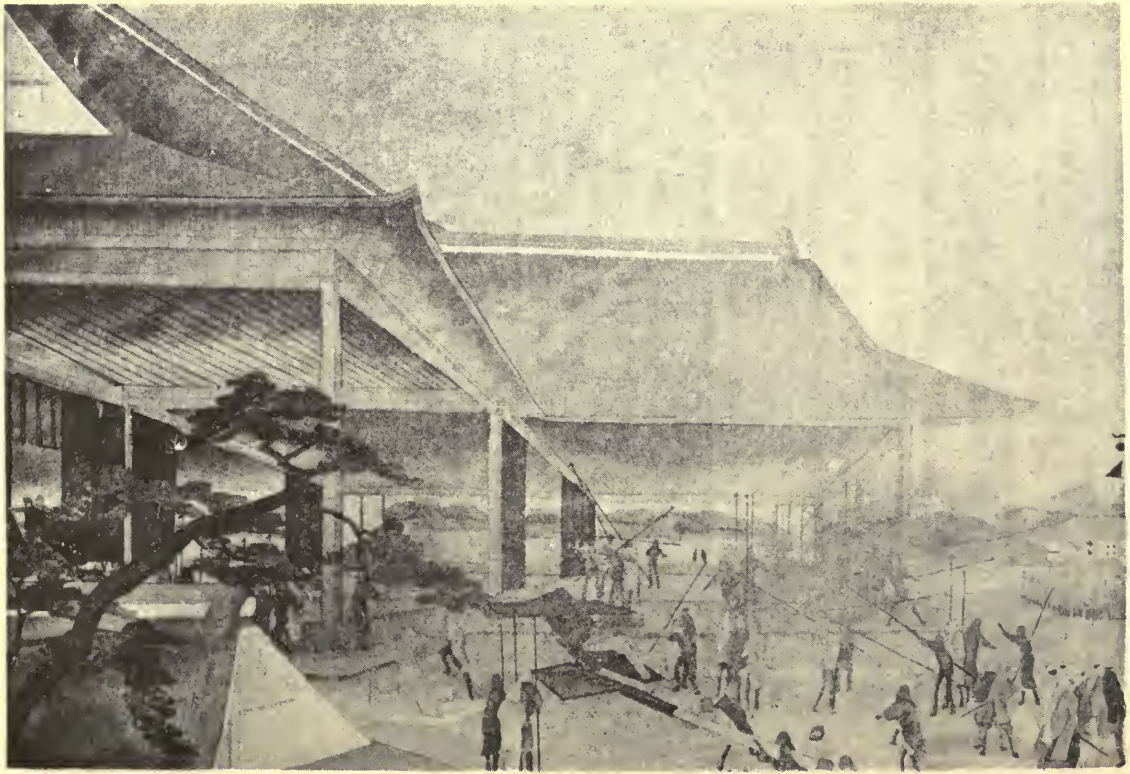
*August 10th.* I took the morning train to Tōkiō and there by invitation took up my quarters with Mr. T. Waters till the furnished house put at my disposal by the Finance Department was got ready. I remained with Mr. Inouye until he resigned his post in 1873, and with the new Minister till the beginning of 1874, when at my request my engagement was cancelled. During all the time I served Mr. Inouye, I received nothing but the utmost kindness, and I look back upon that time with the most lively satisfaction. Mr. Inouye seemed never to have forgotten what little services I rendered him and his party at Nagasaki in 1868.

*August 18th.* The Prince of Chōshiu invited me to dinner through the Minister of Finance. I went to Mr. Inouye's and with him went and dined with the Prince in his *Yashiki.* This very Prince had been treated as a rebel and a traitor, and only a few years before his old and stately Yedo

mansion had been ordered to be torn down by the fire brigades and to be sold as fuel for the city bath-houses.

*August 20th.* At the request of the Minister, I attached myself to the Bureau of Currency under Mr. Yoshikawa. It was occupied with the task of establishing National Banks on the American model, to help forward the capitalization and commutation of the *Samurai's* incomes. An English expert in banking-matters, of high standing, Mr. S., had been engaged in connection therewith to compile regulations and to establish a system of Bank Book-keeping.

*August 21st.* At the summons of Mr. Shibusawa, the Acting-Minister, I went to the Finance Department and was there informed that Governor Oye, of Kanagawa, had written up requesting my services in connection with the case of the *Maria Luz*, a Peruvian barque now in Yokohama harbour. As Peru had no treaty with Japan, the case in question had to come before a Japanese court. It was to be conducted by Counsel, in English. Hence, as Governor Oye did not know much of that language then, he wished me to sit with him, so that he might make certain that he understood all that was said. As requested, I went to Yokohama, and was present during the whole course of the trial. An idea of the nature and of the merits of the case



DESTRUCTION OF PRINCE NAGATO'S YASHIKI, BY ORDER OF SHOGUN'S GOVERNMENT, IN 1864.

will be obtained from the following extracts from the local newspapers :—

In the month of August a Peruvian barque, the *Maria Luz*, came into the harbour with some Chinese coolies on board. She was said to have come under stress of weather and wanted water and some repairs made. Peru having no treaty with Japan, her Captain applied for protection to the U.S. authorities in port, but was refused, on the ground that the vessel in question was carrying on the coolie trade. The Captain then applied to the Spanish *Chargé d'Affaires*, who consented, with the strict understanding that the Captain should not give occasion for any well-grounded complaints by the coolies on the score of ill-treatment during the stay of the vessel in the port of Yokohama.

Shortly after, however, one of the coolies on board the *Maria Luz* swam off in the middle of a dark night to H.B.M.'s *Iron Duke*, and was picked up by her men and officers. He was delivered to the Japanese authorities by the English Consul, whereupon these authorities sent for Captain Herreira, and handed the man over to him with a warning that the Captain should not ill-treat the coolies on board. Some days after this, a second coolie swam to the *Iron Duke* and informed the officers of the ship, that, so far from the Captain's having fulfilled his express promise with respect to the first coolie in question, he (the coolie) had been treated with the most excessive severity. This came to the ears of H.B.M.'s *Chargé d'Affaires*, who took up the case, on the ground that a person not being a criminal had been reduced to a state of servitude by the Captain of the *Maria Luz*. He then paid a visit to the *Maria Luz*, and as a consequence addressed a note to the Japanese Government, asking that an investigation should be held as to the *Maria Luz;* and as to the action of her Captain towards the coolies on board.

So the Governor of Kanagawa held a court in the Kencho at Yokohama in the latter part of August, and all the coolies were lauded and examined.

On the 30th August (1872) the following judgment was rendered by the court upon the inquiry :—

The *Maria Luz* came into the port of Yokohama in distress. Her master asked the privilege of lying here while she was undergoing repairs, and as she sailed under the flag of a power having no treaty with this Empire, he deposited her papers in this Kencho.

Meanwhile a communication was addressed by H.B.M.'s *Chargé d'Affaires* to their Excellencies, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, respecting a man who, it was said, had escaped from this vessel in this harbour, and swam to H.B.M.'s Ship *Iron Duke*. This communication stated that there was reason to believe that this man had been ill-treated, punished and restrained of his liberty, and requested that an investigation be made into the matter by the Japanese authorities.

This communication was referred by the Foreign Department to this Kencho, with direction to make such an investigation, and further to learn if there were any complaints of ill-usage, confinement, or restraint from any other passengers.

The foregoing is the basis of the inquiry, which has been held in this Kencho. In pursuing this enquiry a great amount of evidence has been taken, and all the Chinese passengers on board the vessel, to the number of 230, have been brought into Court to testify. A commission was also sent by the Kencho on board the ship to make inquiries, and a report has been made of other particulars.

The charge preferred against the Captain, viz:—that he has abused the passengers and restrained them by force from leaving the vessel is sustained, the master himself admitting many of the acts charged—As cutting off the queue from three of the Chinese, putting them in confinement, &c. The charge preferred by the great mass of the passengers, that they have been forcibly detained on board the ship, is sustained by the testimony of each, and later by the admission of the master himself.

They are, however, no longer on board the vessel or subject to such restraint. The offences thus proved have been committed by the Captain in the harbour of Yokohama and within the jurisdiction of this Kencho.

The punishment which by Japanese law may be inflicted for the offences proved is severe, being no less than 100 lashes on the offender, or in lieu of stripes, 100 days' confinement in his house, regard being had to the rank of the person guilty. Further the Court may in its mercy pardon the offender.

In the present case the Court, considering all the circumstances and all that has been urged on the master's behalf, considering also that the Captain has been delayed for a long time, and subjected to much inconvenience already by reason of the proceedings, and desiring

to judge him leniently, recommends that Captain Herraeira be pardoned his offence, and be permitted to depart with his vessel.

The Court also further expresses its strong disapprobation of the conduct of the Captain in inflicting these punishments upon his passengers and in restraining them of their liberty.

Those passengers are Chinese subjects, and while within this realm are subject to the duties, and possessed of the rights and privileges of all other Chinese residents.

The Captain is reprimanded, because he did not apply for redress against the alleged misconduct of passengers to this Kencho. In pursuing this investigation, it has been found that there are 18 persons, who, it is alleged by the Captain, have entered into a contract to go on board this ship to Peru, and there to serve for a period of eight years as house servants.

These contracts appear on their face to be good and valid, and are without any particularly objectionable features, except that the persons described are miners. Each of them, however, vehemently protests that he never willingly assented to such a service, and avers that he was decoyed on board the ship. Each prays that the contract be cancelled and himself set free.

As to any questions that might arise on these contracts, or others which might in connection with the present inquiry he urged respecting the so-called "Coolie traffic" it is not thought that they are in any wise before this Kencho for consideration or decision.

If these questions are brought before the Kencho upon the contracts by which it is alleged these passengers are bound, they will then be examined and determined.

Either party has the right to institute an action upon his contract either for its enforcement or for its cancellation and to ask an adjudication thereon.

It is further commanded by this Kencho that the ship's paper and all documents and property which have been either deposited in the Kencho or taken from on board the ship be returned to the Captain.

(Signed.) Oye Taku,
Kanagawa Ken-no-Kami.

Kanagawa Kencho,
26th August, 1872.

The following documents, from the Consuls, were read :—

Consular meeting held at the German Club, August 29th, 1872. Present—Danish Consul-General, Portuguese Consul, Dutch Consul, Italian Consul, German Acting Consul, U.S. Consul, and English Consul.

The German Consul read his written objection to the judgment delivered in the case of the *Maria Luz*, by the local Japanese Government. These objections were supported by the Danish, Portuguese, and Italian Consuls. The English Consul agreed with the finding and recommendations of the Japanese Government, while the American Consul—considering that the letter of the convention of October, 1867, has been complied with by the Government, and further considering that the matter is one with which only the Japanese, Portuguese, and Peruvian Governments are concerned—declines to express any opinion or to give advice. And the Dutch Consul's opinion was that the Governor of Kanagawa, in accordance with the convention of 1867, ought to have asked the advice of the Consular body about the steps to be taken in the case of the *Maria Luz*. The Governor had not done so, but had made himself a Court of Inquiry and had afterward submitted his decision to the consideration of the Consuls. In consequence of this, he (Dutch Consul) does not agree with the steps taken by the Governor in the matter from the beginning, and wishes now to leave entirely to him the responsibility of such decision as he thinks proper, &c."

In the course of the case an incident occurred that led to a novel consequence. By way of proving that something analogous to the coolie traffic prevailed in Japan, the Counsel for the defence produced a copy of the ordinary contract entered into between prostitutes and the owner of the house they take service with. As he was well conversant with Japanese, the Counsel read this in the original, much to the discomposure of the Governor of

Kanagawa and of the other officials present. In short, if the truth must be told, the President of the Court liked it so little, that he stopped the Counsel when he had read about half the document.

When the ex-Governor of the Ken heard of the occurrence, he drew up a petition praying for the abolition of the old prostitute-system. And as a consequence, on the 12th November the Government issued a decree annulling contracts under which prostitutes and singing-girls were held to service.

*November.* In the course of this month it was notified that from the 1st January, 1873, the old Japanese lunar calendar was to give way to the solar one, the 3rd day of the 12th moon being changed to the 1st day of the 1st month. In the course of the year the following important fiscal regulations were published.

(*a*) Land Tax—This was fixed at 2½ per cent. of the title-deed valuation. The summer payment to be made on or before the 30th day of the 9th month. One-half of the winter moiety to be paid on or before the 31st day of the 1st month; one-fourth on or before the 15th day of the 3rd month, and one-fourth on or before the 15th day of the 5th month.

City property was assessed at 1 per cent. of the title-deed valuation, half payable on or before

the 31st of the 7th month, and the other on or before the 31st day of the 1st month.

Town and village property was assessed at 3 per cent. of the title-deed valuation; to be collected in accordance with the customs of the place, or at the times of the ordinary land-tax.

(*b*) Stamp-tax—

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| For transfer of land under 10 yen in value.—5 cents. | | | | | | | | | | |
| ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | 100 | ,, | ,, | ,, | —5 cents for every 10 yen. | | |
| ,, | ,, | ,, | between 100 and | | | 200 yen in value.—50 cents. | | | | |
| ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | 200 | ,, | 500 | ,, | ,, | ,, | — 1 yen. |
| ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | 500 | ,, | 1,000 | ,, | ,, | ,, | — 1.25. |
| ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | 1,000 | ,, | 2,000 | ,, | ,, | ,, | — 1.50. |
| ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | 2,000 | ,, | 5,000 | ,, | ,, | ,, | — 2.50. |
| ,, | ,, | ,, | upwards of | | | 5,000 | ,, | ,, | ,, | — 3.75. |
| ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | | | 10,000 | ,, | ,, | ,, | — 5.00. |

In case of loss of a title-deed, a new one to be issued for a fee of 5 cents irrespective of the value of the land it represents.

Business Stamps—5 cents, 10 cents, 20 cents, 25 cents, 50 cents, 1 yen. Keishi—3, 5, and 7 *rin* each

In the course of this year various parts of Japan shewed clear signs of acute disaffection. In Oita-ken in Kiushu, there were severe riots, the malcontents demanding that horses and cattle should not be slaughtered, that sacred trees should not be cut down, and that no changes should be made in the Religion of the country. Ho-jo-ken became wildly excited over a misinterpretation of a term

used in the notification of the conscription law. The words *ketsu-zei*, "blood-tax," they took to mean that it was the intention of the Government to "squeeze the blood out of them."

In Echizen the disturbances, which were of an exceedingly serious character, were of a religious nature, rioters carrying banners inscribed *Namu-Amida-Butsu*. A mob of some 20,000 people assembled and began to burn and pull down temples, the educational offices, and the houses of the local authorities. Remonstrances were ineffectual; the officials were derided, and renewed acts of violence followed every attempt to pacify the insurgents, who wounded and overpowered the police. Troops had been sent for from Hikone and they were on the way, when the officials succeeded in prevailing upon the mob to disperse. A few hours later, however, the whole district again rose in fury. Ten thousand men were said to have crossed Funabashi and to be advancing upon the suburb of Jukin. Severe conflicts ensued between this body and the Government troops, many on both sides being killed or wounded.

During the same night, several thousand rioters rose in arms in the neighbourhood of the town of Kanatsu, and application was at once made to the garrison in Maruoka for assistance. The

neighbouring village of Ipponda had meanwhile been assailed by marauders, and the Maruoka force found itself faced by a mob under the fanaticable banner of the original insurgents. Again the officials were insulted and attacked and again there was but one way of maintaining the authority of the Government. Blood was shed, several prisoners were taken and order at last restored.

There were slight riots in Tottori-ken at the same time. The demands of the insurgents there were peculiar. There were that the price of rice should be lowered, that no foreigners should be permitted to travel through the district, that the new conscription law should be repealed, that the old method of levying the land-tax should be reverted to, that the expense of new title-deeds should be borne by the Government, that the new national schools be abolished, and the old private school system restored, that no charge be made for the printed books of proclamations, that the new calendar be likewise abolished and the old one restored, and that the people be allowed to shave part of their head as formerly.

In Fukuoka the rioters proceeded to great lengths. They were provided with fire-arms, and hence were really formidable. They burned the local Government offices, the new schools, the house

of the neighbouring village officers, a number of shops, and destroyed upwards of 20 miles of telegraph wire. Among the rioters was a very considerable number of *Samurai*, who were beginning to suspect that their hereditary incomes were in danger.

Hakodate with its neighbourhood was also disturbed, on account of the levy of a new 10 per cent. import on the produce of the herring-fisheries. The people offered to pay a 3 per cent. tax, but of course the officials could not accede to the proposal. Thereupon the mob rose, attacked the Governor's house, and the public offices, and the houses of the officials, and demolished 23 other houses besides.

## XIV.

*February, 1873.* It is reported that the Government have raised a loan in London through the Oriental Bank for $2,400,000. It was a 7 per cent. loan and was floated at 92½, making the actual interest a little over 7½ per cent., a rate which shews the vast improvement in the credit of the country.

This loan was intended to meet the large annuities due by the Government to the *Daimio* who had been dispossessed of their lands by the Revolution, while the *Samurai* had also to look to the same source for their yearly incomes, or good-service pensions.

Later in this same month the Government announced the removal of certain edict-boards posted up throughout the Empire; of one in particular that for two centuries had forbidden the adoption or profession of the Christian religion by any Japanese. This announcement was hailed with great satisfaction. At the end of March, telegrams from Osaka were received stating that the Urakami

Christians, who had survived their captivity in Owari and other provinces, had been released, and shortly afterwards their return to their homes near Nagasaki was reported. It is said that the Representations of the diplomatic body had much to do with this, it being pointed out to the Tokio Government that the Japanese Embassy then in Europe could not expect to be received with entire cordiality there, so long as Christian converts were subjected to persecution, or detained in captivity in Japan.

Early in the same month a special mission from the Republic of Peru arrived to negotiate a Treaty of Commerce and to adjust the difficulty that had arisen between the two countries over the case of the *Maria Luz*, whose coolies, it will be remembered had been disembarked and returned to China at the expense of the Japanese Government. By mutual consent the matter was submitted to the arbitration of H.I.M. the Emperor of All the Russias, the award ultimately given being in favour of the Japanese Government.

In the middle of this March, Mr. Soejima, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, left for China in a warship, to secure from the Pekin Government the punishment of the Formosans, who had outraged the sacred claims of misfortune and distress by

massacring the crews of some Loochooan junks, wrecked on the South Coast of the island.

*May 5th.* The Mikado's Castle in Tōkiō was destroyed by a fire, which is said to have originated in the apartments of the Empress.

The following is from the *Japan Mail*:—

At this time the appearance of Shimadzu Saburo, the Chief of the Satsuma Clan, with a retinue, caused much interest and alarm both among natives and foreigners.

It is stated that he and his followers appeared in the old-fashioned dress, scornfully repudiating the slightest trace of the foreign garb or even of foreign materials. The usual long swords and their adherence to the coiffure of ancient times rendered them conspicuous objects in the capital, while their swash-buckler manner and the scowl with which they greeted the passing foreigner recalled the old days when the European who ventured among them carried his life in his hand, and when the murder of Richardson was perpetrated with a savage joy. The alarm passed away when it was found that the chief was on friendly terms with the Government, and his retainers gradually found their way back to Satsuma possibly with some sense that the age and disposition they represented were things of the past.

While these and such-like affairs of transient interest were transpiring—the visit of the Loochooan Embassy, for instance,—a memorial jointly signed by the Minister, and Vice-Minister of Finance, was published, in a native newspaper, announcing their resignations of the posts held by His Majesty's favour and representing the national financing to be in a condition of the greatest disorder, the external and internal debts increasing, and a yearly deficit of $2,000,000 the result of the present condition of affairs. The announcement burst like a rattling thunderbolt from the blue, both among natives, officials and non-officials, and foreigners. The audacity of the act, the momentous nature of the assertions made, the position and unquestionable ability of at least one of the authors of the document (of the reputation of the other we are silent from ignorance) combined to import to it an unusual importance, and divided men greatly as to the reasons for the act and the amount of truth contained in the manifesto.

The *Official Gazette* of the 10th May at once announced the call of Okuma Shigenobu to the direction of the affairs of the Treasury, and within such time as was necessary for the laborious task of investigating the national accounts and reporting upon them in a general manner, a Budget was produced and published which gave a widely different view of the national Finances. Instead of a yearly deficit of $2,000,000 there was an apparent surplus of $2,140,000—after setting aside of $2,000,000 for incidental expenses; while, though only a provisional and approximate estimate of the whole funded and unfunded debt was made, it became clear that the amount of $140,000,000 as stated by the two mermorialists, was certainly incorrect.

August—It is announced semi-officially that the Mikado has addressed an order to his Ministers upon the subject of taxation. He referred to the inequality of pressure in the present mode of raising the revenue, and desired them to adopt some more equable and fair method of levying the contributions made by the various classes of his subjects.

In October a postal convention was concluded between the U.S. of America and Japan.

*January 1874.* The great and fine Temple of Zōjōji at Shiba was distroyed by a fire.

On the 14th January an attempt was made on the life of the second Minister of State, Iwakura, while on his way home from the castle. He luckily escaped, although not without severe wounds. His opposition to the proposed invasion of Korea, or to the descent on Formosa had aroused the wrath of the restless, discontented, and ambitious *Samurai* of the South.

*February.* This month saw the outbreak of a most determined and dangerous insurrection at Saga, the capital of the Province of Hizen. At one

time it was reported that the rebels had stormed and sacked Saga and were in full march upon Nagasaki. From Higo it is reported that a similar movement was expected there, while a general rising in the province of Kii was thought probable. However steamer and the telegraph enabled the Government to deal promptly with these outbreaks. Troops were despatched to the rebellious provinces with a speed that took the insurgents by utter surprise. In Hizen there was severe fighting, but by the first week in March, Saga surrendered and order was again re-established. Several of the ring-leaders were decapitated.

As soon as this outbreak had been quelled the Government fitted out an expedition to deal effectively with the Formosans that had murdered the shipwrecked Loochooans in 1871.

It is stated in the Yokohama papers that at Tōkiō, the first deliberative assembly was established by the following notice, No. 58,—"It is hereby notified that the Constitution and Rules contained in the accompanying book have been ordained for the assembly of all the local jurisdictions which is now to be convened. The time of meeting will be notified hereafter.

"(Signed) SANJŌ SANEYOSHI,

"Dai-jō Dai-jin."

*May 2nd.* The following is the Emperor's address (by way of preface to the Constitution, Rules, &c.:—"In accordance with the meaning of the oath taken by us at the commencement of Our reign and as a gradual development of its policy, We are convening an Assembly of Representatives of the whole nation so as by the help of public discussion to ordain laws, thus opening up the way of harmony between governors and governed, and of the accomplishment of the national desires, and We trust by ensuring to each subject throughout the nation an opportunity of peacefully pursuing his avocation to awaken them all to a sense of the importance of matters of State. We have therefore issued this Constitution of a Deliberative Assembly providing for the convening of the chief officials of the different local jurisdictions and for their meeting and deliberating as representatives of the people.

"Observe it well, ye Members of the Assembly!"

It is further stated in the *Mail*, that the Government originally intended to have redress from the Chinese Government, for the outrages, and to find out whether China claimed jurisdiction there or not. The Chinese being informally questioned as to their jurisdiction over the aboriginal tribes of Formosa, disclaimed all resposibility for the acts of which the Japanese complained. The intention of Japan to dispatch a mission to the savage tribes was also communicated to them; but the nature of this mission was left undefined; and the Envoy quitted Pekin, leaving the Chinese in ignorance of the consequences which their disclaimer of responsibility would entail on them. The Tōkiō Cabinet was still divided over the question, Iwakura being said to be

opposed to any such scheme. However, as the local newspaper puts it: -"It is no imputation on his personal courage to say that the attempt on his life has shaken his resolution. Thus the preparations for the Formosa expedition began to pacify the excited *Samurai* who had been giving trouble to the Government on account of the new order of things militating against the interests of their class—(commutation of their income, &c.)

"When the expedition was ready to leave, it was found that no foreign transports could be hired or chartered. Although the Cabinet was still divided upon the question, those who had proceeded to Nagasaki left that port before the Government dispatch could stop them from going further.

"The men-of-war and transports made Amoy their first place of rendezvous. Thence they made for Sonthern Formosa and began operations, and towards the middle of May, had inflicted severe punishment upon the savage tribes. This awakened the Chinese Government. They sent their Brig.-General to the Japanese Commander-in-Chief to remonstrate against the proceedings of the Tōkiō Government. The Taotai of Shanghai is also said to have made representations to the Japanese Envoy (who had been sent *specially* to confer with the Chinese authorities at Pekin) and requested him to order the withdrawal of the Japanese troops from the positions they were occupying. The replies were that the troops had been dispatched by the orders of His Imperial Majesty, the Mikado, and that he alone could order their withdrawal. The Chinese became excited and dispatched a large number of troops to the ports on the Western side of Formosa, and it was feared that they might at any moment be massed against the handful of Japanese occupying the South-Eastern portion of the Island.

"The Japanese troops conducted themselves in an orderly fashion, making punctual payment for all such supplies as they required, and thus contriving to ingratiate themselves with the Chinese inhabitants of the part of the Island occupied by them.

"The punishment of the Bootans was thus effected and steps taken to provide for the future security of the Formosa coast.

"That is, so far as the fear of punishment on the one hand, and on the other, agreements made with the chiefs of the various savage tribes, could effect this object. At the same time negotiations with the Pekin Government justified the course the Japanese had pursued, and stated

the terms on which they were willing to quit the Island. Latterly Okubo was sent as Envoy Extraordinary to the Chinese Court to adjust the matter. His mission was not unattended by difficulties. At one time indeed, it was reported that negotiations had been broken off. At this point the British Minister (to Pekin) offered his services to help to adjust the difficulty, and the offer was accepted. An agreement was signed, by which Japan agreed to evacuate the Formosa territory at a stated time, upon payment by China of half-a-million of *taels*, the estimated value of the works and barracks constructed in the Island, and giving a guarantee to provide for the future security of the Formosa coast.

"During the year the Railway between Kobe and Osaka was opened for traffic."

*November 11th.* For the first time I took a trip over the Tokaidō, or great Eastern highway. I had long been desirous of doing so as even in my boyhood, my fancy had been captivated by the many old tales I had read and heard about this the most famous of the great roads of old Japan. I now took the chance of travelling as past generations had travelled and of seeing for myself the places they have immortalized by their adventures. So my *banto* and I set out from Kanagawa, and went on through Hakone, Nagoya, Yamada in Ise, and thence to Otsu and Kiōto and down to Kobe, even as our Japanese forefathers went in the time of Kaempfer. The only respect in which our mode of travelling differed from theirs was that between Otsu and Kioto we rode in *jinrikisha* instead of in *kago*.

Possibly the old and famous Temples of the Sun-Goodness at Ise were the most interesting objects we saw on the journey. These Temples

are at once old and new, for temples have stood upon the site from time immemorial, while the practice has been to rebuild them once every twenty years. They are all of the simplest possible construction without any colouring or even carving, and built of the timber grown within the precincts of the shrines. In connection with this there are several peculiar customs. The old temples are never taken down, but merely left to succumb to the ravages of time. The timber within the sacred groves is used for the rebuilding and repairs of the shrines, and for that purpose only. Before the Revolution, all the carpenters employed were retained by the Government, and forbidden to do a single stroke of work outside the temple precincts. This prohibition was in order to make sure that they did not employ their tools on unclean objects, or in unclean places. But on the other hand these craftsmen had valuable perquisites. One timber, and one timber only, is taken out of each tree; for a single post a whole tree had to be cut down. And all the timber not used for the temples became the property of the carpenters. However, this custom disappeared in the general wreck of the old régime.

At Osaka, I spent one night with my good friend, Mr. Lepper, and then I passed on to Kobe. Here a Japanese friend introduced me to a Hiōgo banker, who asked me to join his house and re-

organize its business, inasmuch as he found that the changing times made such a measure necessary. Under certain conditions I agreed to do so, and promised to come down and join him in the spring, since I had meanwhile to arrange some matters in Tōkiō, and to dispose of my office and my house at Kanagawa.

*December 3rd.* Started on the return trip. When we got to Hakone we got intelligence that the great Ono Bank had failed with liabilities amounting to $7,000,000. On Dec. 14th, we again reached Kanagawa.

*January, 1875.* It is said that the following correspondence took place between the English and the French Ministers on the one hand and the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs on the other, with respect to the withdrawal of the foreign troops stationed at Yokohama since 1863-4, for the protection of their respective subjects :—

[TRANSLATION.]

DESPATCH ADDRESSED BY THE MINISTERS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE TO THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS RESPECTING THE REMOVAL OF THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH TROOPS STATIONED AT THE PORT OF YOKOHAMA.

(From the *Nichi Nichi Shimbun* of February 14th).

Yedo, January 27th, 1875.

MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE,

In conjunction with my colleague the Minister of France, I have the honour of informing Your Excellency that our Govern-

ments consider that the time has now arrived when the small British and French force stationed at Yokohama should be withdrawn.

In making this communication we feel that we need not recur to the circumstances under which our Governments found it necessary to send a force to Japan for the protection of their Treaty rights, and to continue such protection pending the re-establishment of order and the constitution of a stable administration. The Government of His Majesty, the Tennô, will doubtless remember that throughout a period of trouble and difficulty, inseparable from a revolution so remarkable as that which has occurred in Japan, the presence of this force has prevented the serious embarrassments which must have ensued if foreign life or property had been attacked before the restored Government had succeeded in tranquillizing the country and in consolidating their authority. They will have seen that in proportion to the progress made in the attainment of these objects the allied force was gradually reduced, and they will now appreciate, we trust, the promptness with which the resolution of our Governments to remove the remainder of that force has been taken on the termination of those difficulties which threatened, until towards the close of last year, to disturb the peace of Japan.

It affords our Governments sincere satisfaction to be able to give His Majesty, the Tennô, this spontaneous proof of their goodwill, and also of the confidence they repose in the power and the desire of His Majesty's Government to ensure due security to foreigners resident in Japan.

On our own part we have pleasure in observing that the task in which our troops have been engaged in this country has been performed in a manner which reflects honour upon themselves and upon Japan. We feel that the cordial relations which have been maintained between them and the Japanese officers and people throughout their stay, and the friendly services which they have mutually rendered each other, have materially contributed to the growth of good feeling between our respective nations.

I take this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

To His Excellency, TERASHIMA MUNENORI,

&c. &c. &c.

[TRANSLATION.]

REPLY OF THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE MINISTERS OF THE SAID TWO COUNTRIES.

February 7th, 1875.

MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE,

It has given me much pleasure to peruse the detailed explanation which you have given me in your despatch of the 27th ultimo of the circumstances under which your Government and that of France have now resolved to withdraw entirely the force hitherto stationed at Yokohama for the protection of the Treaty rights of the subjects of your two countries.

Owing to the unsettled condition of this country before the revolution, these troops were sent here for the protection of your country's subjects, but in consequence of the re-establishment of a National Government by His Majesty, the Tennô, and the increasing intimacy of our foreign relations, our nation, as actual experience has shown, has implicitly adhered to the policy of the Government in these two respects. The time, therefore, has arrived when your Government and that of France have resolved upon withdrawing your forces altogether, a circumstance from which both our Governments derive the highest satisfaction. I have no doubt that the cordiality of the relations between them will be still more enhanced by this measure.

I should also observe that it gives me much pleasure to recognize the good feeling which has marked the intercourse with all classes of our people, of the troops which are now to be removed, during the period of their stay here.

I need scarcely say that it is the hope of this Government to maintain on the same cordial footing the existing friendship between the subjects of our respective countries.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) TERASHIMA MUNENORI,
Minister for Foreign Affairs.

On the 14th April, the Mikado's government issued two important proclamations. The first gave notice of the introduction of Representative Institutions in the usual form of an Upper House (*Genrō-In*) and of a Lower Assembly (*Kaigi-In*). The second

proclamation dealt with the centralization of the Judiciary. In May the constitution and rules of the High Court of Justice (*Tai-shin-In*) were promulgated together with the details of the new organization of a complete judicial system for the whole Empire. According to this system, there is one Court of first instance in each of the three *Fu* and sixty *Ken*, subordinated for the purpose of Appeal to the Superior Courts newly established in Tōkiō, Ōsaka, Nagasaki and Fukushima.

*June 20th.* At Tōkiō, the first provincial assembly was opened in the *Higashi Honganji*, presided over by Mr. Kido, the *Sangi*. The *Mail* gives the following details:—"The temple or hall was divided into nine compartments, in the centre of the most important of which the throne was placed. Close beside the Imperial seat were the stations assigned to four members of the reigning family, and beyond them, on either side, those of Sanjo and Shimazu, *Daijin*.

"These were the only occupants of the principal enclosure. The sections next in order were devoted to members of the *Daijōkwan*, on one side, and of the *Genrō-In* on the other, these latter holding a rank equivalent to that of Chief Councillors. In the central compartment, directly in front of the Emperor and between him and the body of the assemblage, the President, Kido, stood

alone. The space on his left was alloted to officers of the second class, and that on the right to the Diplomatic Corps, &c. * * * * * * *

"Facing the throne were the seventy odd delegates, flanked on both sides by Representatives from the various Departments of State. Further in the rear were the few non-participating spectators of the proceedings.

"Previous to the Emperor's arrival, the business of electing the three permanent managers and of appointing committees for the preparation of reports upon the five subjects to be discussed, was rapidly accomplished." * *

About this time, or a little before, the M. B. S. S. Co. (Mitsubishi) enlarged their business under the auspices of the Government, and began to run in opposition to the P. M. S. S. Co. between Yokohama, Kobe, Nagasaki and China; and in the following October they bought four P. M. steamers at a fair rate. It is reported that the Government has given the Mitsubishi Co. no fewer than 13 steamships (including the above four steamers) and a yearly subsidy of *yen* 265,000 for carrying the mails and for other services.

## XV.

*May 1st.* Left Kanagawa for Kobe to take up my engagement with Mr. Kita in Hiōgo. Soon after my arrival Mr. Kita, his chief manager and myself held a consultation, and came to the conclusion that it would be advisable to establish a branch house in Kobe for the export of tea. So we established an office in the Main Street of Kobe, with $10,000 in cash, which came from the head house. However, as three times that sum was necessary, it was arranged that I should borrow the balance from the local government of a neighbouring Kèn, where an old friend of mine was Governor.

Accordingly, on the 29th, I set out to arrange the matter. The Governor of that Ken and I had not met since he had been Vice-Governor of ——— in 1870/1, and now he gave me a warm welcome. When I broached my business to him he at once said that the Ken had about $200,000 lying idle with the banker and bringing in only 4 per cent.; if we could give good and tangible security for $30,000 or $40,000 we could have the sum we wanted at

5 per cent. Upon this I at once hurried back to Kobe to clinch the matter, but to my great surprise I discovered that our house held no Government Bonds or any such like securities; nothing in fact except about one hundred godowns on the beach of Hiōgo. However, the manager and I went to the capital of that Ken, and consulted with the banker, but the latter said he could make no advances on the godowns as it was contrary to the Regulations. And so the matter ended. I may say that the usual rate of interest in those days among business men was from 10 per cent. to 12 per cent. and sometimes as high as 15 per cent.

We carried on the business for nine months, but inasmuch as the two managers (called "out" and "in") and Mr. Kita did not agree, it was finally decided to close the branch office and I was requested to take over the business altogether. I did so reluctantly, and carried it on till an attack of neuralgia compelled me to give it up in 1881.

However, as I was an American citizen, I could not do business in the native town in my own name, and so perforce I registered the undertaking in the *Boyeki-kaisha* in the name of one of my relatives.

This *Boyeki-kaisha* had been established in Kobe under Governor Ito soon after the Revolution. Its *raison d'être* was to take the statistics of

Imports and Exports, for doing which it levied a small percentage on the entries. It was an institution consisting of members who were all duly registered as dealers with foreigners, with a President and subordinate officers elected by these members. At first the affair had been well managed, but in course of time many of the members had resigned, the officials had neglected their duties, while the management passed into the hands of outsiders, who looked after their own interests instead of those of the *Boyeki-kaisha*. These gentry even went so far as to exact per cent. taxes from both buyers and sellers of goods from or to foreigners, and at last a general outcry went up against the *Boyeki-kaisha* in consequence. With the amalgamation of the two Ken of Hiōgo and Shikama came another governor, who shewed a disposition to wield a new broom, and among other things he turned his attention to the den of squeezers in the *Boyeki-kaisha*, and ordered an investigation. As a result the President of the Association came forward with a scheme which met with the approval of traders generally. It was to the effect that he (the President) should be charged with the duty of looking after the Import and Export Statistics, with the privilege of charging *go rin*, or one-half per cent. on all transactions. Of the sum thus collected $\frac{6}{10}$ was to be set apart for

lighting and cleaning the streets and for local police purposes generally, while the remainder was to go to defray the expenses of the Association. This plan met with the Governor's approval, and the President continued in office with the right of selecting his subordinates. In this way the *Boyeki-kaisha* was transformed from an association of traders into a sort of regular Government office.

Between 1868 and 1875 great improvements had been effected in Kobe. The Bund had been completed at a cost of nearly $2,000,000; the foreign settlement could boast of wide, clean, well-laid out streets with gas-lamps at all their corners and many substantial and stylish buildings, while the native town also shewed vast changes for the better.

After I had settled down I looked around for a piece of ground on the hill-side to build on, but inasmuch as I discovered that land which had gone for ½ or ¾ *bu* per *tsubo* in 1868 now fetched 2 or 3 *bu*, I thought it well to wait. This phenomenal rise was mainly the outcome of land speculation, in which an old Baron and a supposed wealthy merchant connected with the defunct Ono Bank had played the leading parts.

This Ono Bank together with the banking-house of Shimada had both failed in the preceding year, and as one result of this the hill-lots held by

the merchant referred to now came on the market. It seems that the gentleman in question on buying the land had made out his own valuation and submitted it to the local authorities, who had certified to its correctness. He then mortgaged the lots to the Governments of neighbouring Ken, and with the money thus raised made further investments in real estate, and repeated the process with these until he was brought to a pause by the banking failures of the previous year. Then of course the local Governments to whom he was indebted, foreclosed, and the local Kencho gave notice that the property would be sold by tender.

Upon this I sent my *banto* to put in a tender for one of the lots, with a limit of 25 cents per *tsubo*.

On the appointed day the tenders were opened in presence of a Finance Officer and several local officials, and were read out one after another:—½ *bu*, 18, 21, 25 cents per *tsubo*. At this the Finance Officer started up in a passion.

"What is the meaning of all this?" he exclaimed. "Here are the title-deeds, with the seal of Hiōgo-ken certifying that the land is worth $3 per *tsubo*, and advances have been made on it to the extent of one third and even one-half that value! What do you mean by offering no more than 25 cents per *tsubo*? I will let you know by-and-bye as to whe-

ther we accept it or not." Thereupon of course all came away, but nothing further has as yet been heard from that irate Finance-Officer.

Presently it came out that the worthy speculator, in conjunction with a certain Ken official, had been at work in another direction. They had formed what they called "The Spring and Autumn Company," and had obtained for it, free, *gratis* and for nothing, a large tract of Government land on the hill behind the foreign settlement of Kobe. Here they had established a crematorium, had laid out a part as a grave-yard, and had built a temple conveniently near. Their next move was to get the local authorities to close the old grave-yards as prejudicial to public health, and to order all future interments to be made in this brand new cemetry—a ukase that gave rise to grievous and serious murmurings and mutterings among the people at large. For the Company saw fit to put an exceedingly stiff price upon their wares, charging anything from *yen* 1.50 to *yen* 7 (according to location) for a piece of ground 4 ft. × 4 ft., which they facetiously termed a *tsubo*. Of course in the natural course of things they reaped a rich harvest. A year or two later the official in question was removed to the capital, while the speculator continued the even tenor of his way in Kobe. "But," said my

informant in 1882, "that man is now completely broken down, and is now next door to bankrupt. And no one ever prospers who goes meddling with the dead."

I once had occasion to meet this speculator, and on that occasion he told me that it was in San Francisco that he had conceived the idea of making a fortune by playing the land-shark in Kobe. For just as 'Frisco owed its prosperity to its being the gateway between the East and the West, so must Kobe flourish from its situation in the centre of Japan. Some years afterwards this would-be Leviathan of finance died virtually a beggar.

*March 28th, 1876.* This day witnessed a singular event. A short notice signed by the Prime Minister was issued, intimating that thenceforward no one was to be permitted to wear a sword except when in court-dress, or when acting as a military, naval or police officer. Thus by a few strokes of the pen were the *Samurai* shorn of what had been their most cherished prerogative for centuries upon centuries.

In the course of the year I had occasion to make acquaintance with one of those abuses that go so far to blight the reputation of certain classes of Japanese as traders. I refer to the *Kan-kan-rio* or weight-fee exacted by the Japanese and Chinese employés of foreign firms from native merchants who sell tea

for export. At the opening of the ports, native dealers knew little about foreign weights or measures. So they offered the *banto* of foreign houses 1 per cent. on all sales, and the godown-men 5 cents per picul to look after their interests. At the time both parties to the transaction regarded it merely as a temporary arrangement, but in spite of that, lapse of time converted it into a custom—and a nuisance. The result was, it is said, that the the *banto* and godown-men were getting richer than their employers, and that, too, without any risk.

## XVI.

This year turned out to be pregnant with events. Of course by far the most momentous was the Satsuma rebellion, but there were also many other happenings of no small consequence. The Government announced that the Treaty with Corea had been ratified. It also issued its first shooting regulations. A little later it took formal possession of the Bonin Islands, and sent officials to establish a colony there, and to administer the Government. On the 4th Jan. it notified that the national land-tax had been reduced from 3 per cent. to 2½ per cent. A little afterwards it was stated that official residences were to be built for the Ministers at the public cost. On Jan. 13th, it was announced that the national expenditure was to be cut down from *yen* 29,617,972 to *yen* 22,785,660, a total reduction of *yen* 6,832,312, the salaries of officials being curtailed as a consequence.

On Jan. 25th the Mikado embarked on the *Takao* at Yokohama *en route* for Kobe, for the

purpose of opening the Kobe-Kioto railway. This ceremony took place on Feb. 5th, in presence of the Ministers of State and of the Foreign Representatives.

This year was prolific in illustrations of the difficulties attending a change in the laws and jurisprudence of the country, several glaring pieces of roguery being perpetrated in the tea-business. Up to this time it had been customary for the country-merchant to consign tea to his agent at the Treaty port for sale at a certain stated price. If this price could not be obtained the consignee kept the tea to see whether an advance might take place; if there was absolutely no prospect of that, the consignee would then (inasmuch as tea was an article that deteriorated by keeping) sell the consignment for the best price obtainable, and for doing so would be thanked by the Japanese dealer in the country for looking after his interest, even although the transaction may have involved him in a loss. But under the new system all this changed. The people now seemed to forget all the obligations of friendship and humanity and custom, and to trust to smartness, and artifice and chicanery, which they dignified with the name of *Law*, to obtain every just or unjust monetary advantage they could.

For instance, one of my neighbours received a

consignment of Kaga tea from an *old* constituent of his, to be sold at a certain named price; and on this tea he advanced the Kaga man a considerable loan. However, prices never came near the figure the latter had named, and at last they began to decline seriously. Thereupon my neighbour several times wrote to his constituent informing him how things stood, and asking leave to sell the tea for the best price obtainable. But the Kaga man never replied, and so to prevent serious loss, the tea was sold. As soon as the consignor heard of this, he hurried to Kobe, and demanded either his tea, or the price he had left it to be sold at. And the end of the transaction was that the consignee had to pay his constituent a price he had never obtained himself. This object-lesson made me proceed with some caution in a somewhat similar case of my own. In June, my own tea-inspector introduced me to a man from Yamashiro, who brought down several boxes of tea. Some of these I bought, and some I did not buy, because the price asked was too high. The man then asked me for a loan on the security of those I did not purchase, and I gave him the sum he asked for without taking his P. N. for it, merely asking him to sign our office receipt-book. Next month he brought another lot of fine tea at a superfine price, on which he borrowed a second sum and signed for it

in the office receipt-book as before, on the distinct understanding that in the event of my failing to sell the tea at the prices he had given the money was to be refunded. As time went on prices declined, and by the time the money was due there was no chance of selling the tea unless at a great sacrifice. So I wrote several times advising him of the circumstances, and asking him either to bring the money and redeem the tea or allow me to sell it for what it would fetch. He replied to the last of my three notes, telling me to keep the tea till October 1st. Luckily his office seal was on the envelope, and so, warned by the experience of my neighbour, I kept that envelope and put it carefully away in my safe. At the same time I held the tea as requested till the 1st of October, by which time prices had reached a still lower depth, while the man avoided giving any intimation of his existence. But as luck would have it, I one day knocked up against him in the streets of Kobe, and then I promptly invited him to step into my office and tell me what he intended to do about the tea and the loan. He said that he wished to settle it at once and asked me to take the tea at the market price. So I sent for a broker, obtained the local rates ruling, and in order to settle the matter agreed to take the two lots at $3 more than the quotations I received. The man promised to come and take the weight next morn-

ing, but next morning he took the first train to Ōsaka instead. So with my chief *banto* I called on the Governor, and asked whether I could have the man arrested for fraud. The Governor consulted the Commissioner of Police, who said I could, provided I handed in a written statement requesting that the man be apprehended. Next day an escort of policemen brought him down from Ōsaka, and I was asked to appear at the Police Office. My *banto* and two witnesses went, and the Judge examined them. One of them recounted the ins and outs of the transaction from the beginning, upon which the Judge said that it appeared to be a common commercial matter which ought to be tried in the Ordinary Civil Court. He thereupon dismissed the man, who danced off home in delight. On Oct. 31st, I put the matter into the Consul's hands, and in due course the following document was forwarded to me through the channel of the U.S. Consulate:—

The statement of H. Kihei's plea. I, Hayashi Kihei, of Sōraku-gori Dai-go-ku (5th Division), Somada-mura, within the jurisdiction of Kiōto-Fu, beg to acknowledge receipt of your Honour's communication dated the 10th inst., ordering me to appear in the Kobe Saibansho in the case (viz. money leut ou the security of tea) brought against me by an American citizeu, J. Heco. Iu reply I humbly beg to state that I have never borrowed any money from him ou the security of tea. This is what I respectfully state, and it is a fact and the truth.

(Signed) HAYASHI KIHEI (Seal).

Dated the 13th day of the 11th month of the 10th year of Meiji (1877). Attested by *Aōchō* Onishi Jinzaburo, of Sonoda.

This was addressed to Governor Makimura, of Kiōto. I thereupon wrote to the U.S. Consul stating that I was prepared to substantiate my claim with the documentary evidence I enclosed, viz.—1. Hayashi Kihei's receipt for the money at the time I advanced the loans to him. 2. A copy of Hayashi Kihei's reply to a letter addressed to him on my behalf by my relative asking for repayment of the two sums named, and 3. The original statement of my witness, Ida Hankichi, testifying that he was present when I advanced the two sums of money to Hayashi Kihei. I also wrote that in case these documents were deemed insufficient, I could bring further testimony to support my claim.

Shortly afterwards the Japanese authorities fixed a day for the hearing of the case. I appeared with documents and witnesses, but only to find that Hayashi had sent a representative with a doctor's certificate stating that he was ill and could not appear. However, as it turned out that his illness was only *Senki* (a loin-complaint very common among Japanese), the Judge rather sternly ordered the representative to go back and bring Hayashi himself into Court. So willy-nilly Hayashi had to appear on the day to which the case had been adjourned. I put in my documents and my witnesses were examined. But when

Hayashi was questioned he unblushingly told the Court that he did not know me and that he had never seen me before!' All this the judge listened to with the utmost gravity. A nice state of matters truly!

A few days after I received the decision with a translation through the U.S. Consul. It ran as follows:—

TRANSLATION.

1st. The Defendant stated that the money in question claimed by Plaintiff was the sums received in payment of the tea sold to Matsumoto and had nothing to do with the Plaintiff. The letters and documents produced as evidence and *wabisho* or letter of apology sent to Plaintiff from Okada and Tarobei were made out by others, so that they could not be considered as any evidence. And the letter written to Plaintiff in reply was written by Maida Shohé (a relative of the Defendant), who wrote it without Defendant's knowledge, inasmuch as the Defendant neither could write nor read. But the Court considers that the letter in question was written at the request of the Defendant by his relative Maida Shohé, since the Defendant had acknowledged the seals on the envelope to be his seals. In addition to this, the letter in question had a request, asking the Plaintiff to keep the tea till October. So taking the above into consideration, it is evident that the Defendant *did* borrow the said sums of money against his tea from the Plaintiff. For, if the Defendant (as he stated) had sold his tea right-out to Matsumoto in question, why did he (Defendant) dictate a request not to sell the tea, but to keep it till October, &c.?

The evidence of Okuda and others, showing that the borrowing of the money was effected, is quite sure, and therefore the Court cannot allow the Defendant's plea.

2nd. The Plaintiff demands the interest on the money loaned, but in the absence of any agreement to that effect, the Court allows only legal interest of 6 per cent. per annum.

3rd. From the foregoing circumstances, the Court orders the

Defendant to pay the Plaintiff forthwith the amount claimed with the above-named interest in full.

Dated 27th day of Dec., 1877,

Kobe Saibansho. (Signed) YATSUO SHUNZO, Judge.

So far I had won, but Japanese law allowed an appeal without the necessity of alleging any grounds, provided notice thereof be given within one week after the original decision. The victor in the original suit has then to wait 90 days, during which time, of course, the appellant has time to transfer all his property to some friend or relative. Then if he loses the case in the Court of Appeal he can petition the Court to adjudge him bankrupt. Although the law forbids any such transfer pending the appeal, yet I was informed it was a common practice to make it, and as it turned out, it was made by my respected friend, Hayashi Kihei. On March 25th, 1878, I received a notification from the Court of Appeal in Ōsaka through the U.S. Consul to the effect that Hayashi's attorney Ito had filed a petition, appealing against the decision of the Kobe Court, and requesting that I (Joseph Heco) should be caused to give a written answer to the said petition. Ito pleaded, first that his client had no knowledge of borrowing any money from an American citizen, and secondly that the money signed for in our office receipt-book had been received in payment of tea sold to Matsumoto, and that the note written by Maeda Shohé was no evidence, since Hayashi had

no knowledge of having ever directed him to write such a note. On those grounds, Ito requested the Appeal Court of Ōsaka to grant a rehearing of the case and to reverse the decision of the Court at Kobe.

The case came on on April 22nd, and my *banto* and myself appeared on that day, only to find, as on the former occasion, that Hayashi Kihei was not in attendance. His representative produced a doctor's certificate stating that the man could not come because he was suffering from—a cold! I insisted on his presence, saying that if the man could not walk I would pay for his *kago*. So the Court ordered Ito to attend next day at noon, *with his client*. He did so, and then Hayashi Kihei looked strong, stout, sleek, vigorous, and abominably and aggressively healthy. The case was opened and went on smoothly enough; the appellant had no new evidence to produce at all. Then the Judge turned to me and said that it would be unnecessary for me to appear again, and that he would forward the decision to me through the U.S. Consul at Kobe.

On May 16th, I was informed that the decision of the Kobe Court had been sustained, whereupon I wrote to the U.S. Consul asking him to obtain execution of the decree. On the 28th of May the Judge of the Kobe Court wrote me saying that he had caused Hayashi Kihei to be summoned to

Kobe, and that when he appeared he (the Judge) would order him to pay the money in compliance with the decision.

I heard nothing further of the matter till June 15th, when I got a Japanese letter (with a translation) through the U. S. Consulate from one Takenouchi Genzo, who signed himself attorney for Hayashi Kihei, stating that his client (H. K.) could not even provide the necessaries of life for himself, and that he owed so much money to others that it was impossible for him to pay me (J. Heco) at once; and that if I insisted "the only means the defendant Hayashi Kihei had of complying with the decision of the Court is to become bankrupt. I hereby request that the Court will communicate the above to the Plaintiff."

Of course this caused me to smile, for I knew the whole thing was fudge. But I thought it strange, if not shameful, that the native authorities should accept such a document from a man who was carrying on a splendid business in the name of his son. What was the Government meant for, if not to protect honest citizens?

However there was no help for it but to temporise. So I wrote to Hayashi Kihei that I would not for the world that he should become bankrupt on my account, and that I would merely suggest that the tea in my possession should be

valued by competent persons in the presence of Hayashi Kihei and his advocate, and handed over to me, he (H. K.) giving his P.N. for whatever amount of the loan the tea would not cover. They agreed to this, the tea was valued and handed over, and Hayashi Kihei gave his P.N. for the deficiency, his advocate asking me not to charge interest on this, since his client was very poor. I agreed, and waited patiently for the man to come forward to redeem his note. But he never appeared, and for two years nothing was done.

Meanwhile my *bantos* and myself were being constantly informed by his fellow-dealers that Hayashi Kihei was carrying on a large tea trade with Osaka, at first in his son's name, but latterly in his own. I asked my informants whether they would testify to that fact in court, but they declined to do so. I had gone to the Kobe Saibansho, and asked the judge whether the court could not help me to recover the money, and had been informed that it would if I could bring evidence to the effect that Hayashi Kihei was solvent and in good circumstances, that otherwise the man would plead poverty and all that could then be done would be to make him bankrupt. As I was casting about to find such evidence, it struck me that it might be worth while to send my *banto* to examine the books of the Ōsaka Express Agencies. So

one day, he called on two of these agencies, and saying that we had missed some packages of tea of a certain mark consigned to us through them, asked leave to look over their freight books. My *banto* went through these books for the last few years, found what he wanted, and took the dates, numbers of chests, and jars, with their marks, that had passed through the agents' hands on behalf of Hayashi Kihei and of his son. From this it appeared that during the first year, Hayashi had conducted his business in his son's name, but after that in his own, with his old mark.

So I forwarded this evidence to the Kobe Saibansho through the U.S. Consulate. The judge sent for the man, and ordered him to pay up. The fellow again pleaded poverty, but the evidence was too strong and the judge told him that his plea was nonsense. So he did pay up. When he settled the matter, he told me that the lawyers had misled him, and that he had disbursed three times the amount of my claim in legal fees. He apologised, and brought me a present, by way of smoothing over the matter, saying that he would never try to defraud others, and that he had found honesty to be the best policy after all, *for since he had settled my case he could afford to appear in Kobe with a clean face!* During 1877/8 there were many such cases among the Japanese tea-dealers.

*October, 1877.* Of the Satsuma rebellion, the *Japan Mail* gives the following account :—

The bloody drama opened on the 1st February, 1877, at Kagoshima. On that day a body of some twenty-five hundred *Shizoku* took forcible possession of a quantity of gun-powder, the property of the Government, that was on the point of being shipped from the manufactory at that place on board the Mitsu Bishi steamer *Sekirio-maru*. The insurgents appear to have been members of what was popularly known as the Private School at Kagoshima. This establishment, which was in reality a sort of military academy for adults, had been founded by Saigo and other leading men of the Satsuma clan upon the close of the Restoration, and was supported out of the pensions which the Government, from motives of gratitude or of policy, had allotted to the most powerful of their supporters. The "pupils," numbering several thousands, were full-grown men, retainers of the Satsuma house, who had served under Saigo through the war, and who, almost without an exception, had chosen to share his lot upon his resignation of his commanded.

At the outset Saigo refused to sanction the proceedings of the insurgents, whether with sincerity may reasonably be doubted, and throughout, the famous Shimadzu Saburo declined to have anything to do with the movement. There was thus from the very beginning a split in the Satsuma camp, the cause and extent of which it would be interesting, were it possible, to trace. The Governor of the Kagoshima-ken, Oyama, appears to have been in league with the insurgents almost from the first, and events furnished incontestable proofs that he had betrayed his trust.

The news of Kagoshima affairs created excitement in Tokio and Kioto, and the Government lost no time in sending all the troops and policemen they could dispose of to Kagoshima.

Meanwhile the rebels had seized the Mitsu Bishi steamer, the *Taihei-maru*, and had ventured, but without success, to attack the *Riu-jō-kan*, having on board Admiral Kawamura, at Maye-no-hama.

On the 20th February, a Government notification recognized the presence of the insurgents in the Kumamoto-ken, and proclaimed the appointment of Prince Arisugawa to the chief command of the expedition about to be sent against them. The rebel army made

the town and castle of Kumamoto the first objective of their operations, and were in the vicinity by the 22nd of February.

About the time it became certain that Saigo Takamori had openly espoused the cause of the insurgents, and assumed the leadership of the movement, Kirino being apparently his second in command.

Early in March the insurgents had completed the investment of the Castle of Kumamoto; whether they ever made a serious attempt to take it seems doubtful. They appear to have contented themselves with cutting off the supplies of the garrison, and repelling the sallies which the latter from time to time made with the view of establishing a communication with the Imperial troops who were harassing the rear of the besiegers. Meanwhile General Kuroda, at the head of all the forces the Government could place at his disposal, was marching to their relief, but the difficult nature of the country he had to traverse, combined with defective commissariat arrangements, retarded his advance, and it was not until the 15th of April that he was able to raise the siege and compel the insurgents to withdraw from their position. By this time fully twenty thousand Imperial troops were in the field, and it is difficult to understand why the besieging forces, who probably never numbered ten thousand men, were allowed to effect their retreat without serious molestation, and with such secrecy that a considerable time elapsed before their new positions were discovered.

The insurgents, after finding themselves driven to raise the siege of Kumamoto, contrived to keep their line of retreat a profound secret from the Government troops for a considerable time. The country around Kumamoto is of a singularly wild description, sparsely inhabited, and traversed by few roads, the best of which are mere bridle-paths, while the peasantry were probably much more inclined to keep than to reveal the secret of their fellow-provincials. The Imperial Commander, too, had his own difficulties to contend with. The garrison he relieved was in a starving condition, and the transport of provisions and other necessaries from the coast was a long and arduous undertaking. His own troops had suffered severely in the engagements that preceded and led up to the relief of the beleagured Castle, and commissariat deficiencies were probably not of a slight character. * * * It was not until the beginning of May that the position of the insurgents was revealed, when they were found advantageously posted on the confines between the provinces

of Hiuga and Satsuma. Government troops had meanwhile been landed at Kagoshima, and the energies of the Imperial Generals were directed towards cutting off the escape of the insurgents by a simultaneous advance from Kumamoto and Kagoshima * * * During the month of May a good deal of desultory fighting took place, in which according to the native newspapers which were—or pretended to be—favourable, to the Government, the troops of the latter were by no means invariably successful. It is certain that then, as throughout the war, the rebels fought with great courage and determination. They were almost all of the *Samurai* class, accustomed to the use of the sword, with which, owing to the nature of the ground, the contest had generally to be decided, and inspirited and unified by a common devotion to an idolized chief, and by the sort of local patriotism that has characterized the rising from its beginning to its close and which recalls the partisan warfare of the former regime.

The Imperial troops, on the other hand, were composed mostly of raw levies, consisting of peasants taken from various parts of the country, hastily drilled, with no stomach for fighting and destitute of that *esprit de corps* which alone can impart a vivifying force to a military organization * * * At this stage the insurgents probably numbered not less than twenty thousand men, though how many were effective soldiers we have no means of determining. They appear to have been distributed in three corps, one under the command of Murata Shimpachi, another under that of Kirino and a third under the leadership of Saigo himself. Whether the latter had any definite military plan of operation in his mind is uncertain, the history of the war seems to show that he had none, and was bent merely on resisting the Government until he had either effected a compromise or brought about the changes he desired in the councils of the Mikado. The first decided success of the Imperial troops, according to the native journals, since the relief of Kumamoto, occurred toward the end of June, when General Kawaji at the head of a division that had formed part of the Kumamoto army effected a junctiou with the Government force at Kagoshima, after routing the insurgents in a pretty severely contested engagement in the rear of the Satsuma capital. While these event were taking place in the extreme south and west, the attitude of parties in the province of Tosa became such as to cause considerable anxiety. Itagaki, a former member of the

Privy Council, had been for some time discontented with the action of the Government, and professed to occupy the position of a neutral between the Government and the insurrection * * * That there was much disaffection in the province is shown by the memorial of the *Risshisha*, to which we shall presently advert.

The Imperial generals persisted in their plans, and early in July the position of the insurgents seemed desperate, and it was even reported that their leader had committed suicide. By a curious fatality his brother, Major-General Saigo, was at this juncture ordered to take the field against him and left Ōsaka for Kiushu early in July. The engagements between the contending forces became more decided every day. But their victories were dearly purchased, and the gaps in their ranks had to be filled up by successive batches of fresh levies. In the month of July they lost six thousand men; of the losses of the rebels during the same time it is impossible to form any just estimate. In August the beginning of the end was clearly to be discovered. The last stronghold of the insurgeants, Nobeoka, fell into the hands of their enemies, and from this moment their cause became desperate, and the war was converted into a defensive guerilla. The position of Saigo was unknown, but he was supposed to be in Hiuga, into which province he had sometime previously to the fall of Nobeoka betaken himself. His adherents surrendered in masses, and only a remnant remained with him and Kirino, determined to stand by their leaders to the very last. Their place of retreat was unknown, but about the beginning of September they suddenly appeared at Yokogawa in Osumi, and inflicted a terrible defeat upon the Imperial forces there stationed under the command of General Miyoshi. Following up their victory they at once marched upon Kagoshima, which seems to have been left in an almost defenceless condition. They gained possession of the town without difficulty, the Government Officials having only just time to get on board the *Takachiho-maru*, and make their escape to Nagasaki. The victors, who probably numbered only a few hundreds, soon saw their forces augumented and it seemed as if the whole work of the last few months would have to be done over again. But the effort was but the flicker of an expiring flame. It was, indeed, a military mistake and simply served to hasten the bloody castrophe. At the moment Saigo and Kirino seem to have lost their heads. They abandoned Kagoshima and took up a position on Shiroyama, which admitted of their being

surrounded. The Imperial general was not slow to profit by the error, and invested the rebels—who numbered only some four hundred men massed round the persons of Saigo, Kirino, and Murata—with a force of not less than fifteen thousands troops.

A terrible slaughter ensued, and only some hundred and twenty-five insurgents escaped. The rest found an honourable death on that fatal hill, and the 24th of September will long be remembered by the Japanese as one of the bloodiest days in their sufficiently bloody annals. Not one of the Imperialists was killed, a fact that seems to prove that the desperate remnant were unprovided with fire-arms. It was indeed a massacre, but not a massacre for which the Imperialist troops were in the slightest degree responsible. The insurgents were determined to die, and die they did, but with their faces foe-wards, the last example of the death-scorning, not ignoble, yet hardly admirable, ferocious military virtue of old Japan.

On the same day was born a son to the Mikado, who, in all probability, will inherit the Imperial throne. It is said that Saigo was not killed in the fight but only seriously wounded, and that Murata Shimpachi, obedient to the antique rule of the *Samurai* order, ended with a stroke of his sword the despair and the life of his friend and leader. The head was recognized, and the last honours reverently paid to it, by Admiral Kawamura.

There could be no fitter man to render this tribute to a brave enemy than the generous soldier who, but for the treachery of Oyama, might possible have averted the rebellion by his personal influence with his former friend and leader. Thus died Saigo Kichinosuke, the last of the *Samurai*. * * * * * Terrible as the misery induced by the Satsuma war must have been, the history of it will nevertheless fill a bright page in the annals of Japan. Not for the courage displayed on either side, for courage is no new feature of the Japanese character. But the humanity which characterised the struggle, at all events on the Imperialist side, is unexampled in the history of civil war, and constitutes a signal proof of the sincerity with which the people of this country have exchanged the ferocious barbarism of the old regime for the mild spirit of modern civilisation. The leniency which the Government exercised in the hour of victory has only been equalled by that exhibited by America at the close of the slavery war, and has won from the world an admiration which Englishmen would be glad to have merited in 1857.

The statistics of the war may be briefly summed up. It cost the country 42 millions *yen*. The number of killed and wounded on both sides numbered many thousand. * * * Up to the end of October over 38,000 persons were tried for complicity in the outbreak. Of these, twenty suffered capital punishment; thirty-six thousand were acquitted, and the rest sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, in no case exceeding 10 years.

We have spoken above of the treachery of Oyama, and although the world at large will probably never accurately know the causes that led to the fatal Satsuma outbreak, there can be little doubt that he to a great extent fomented the rebellion while, as his own confession shows, he prevented that meeting between Admiral Kawamura and Saigo which would in all probability have led to a peaceful compromise. Whether he himself believed in the story of the plot to assassinate the great Satsuma leader cannot be said, but that he used the confessions of Nakahara and others to excite the feelings of the people against members of the administration there can be no doubt, as he had them printed and distributed broad-cast throughout the country. Whatever his crime, however, he paid the full penalty, being beheaded at Nagasaki on the 29th September. He was a man of dauntless personal courage, and had rendered great services to the Emperor in the struggle against the *Bakufu*, which resulted in the restoration of the Mikado's power. We are full of admiration, as we have before stated, for the moderation and leniency which the Government has displayed towards the conquered, but we submit that it might with safety have extended its clemency towards Oyama, in view of his former services and of his hitherto stainless career.

The memorial of the *Risshisha*, of Tosa, must not be passed by without a word of remark, inasmuch as although it may at present be rejected and its claims set aside by the present Government, the time will come when such a demand will be made by the people for a hearing of the political questions of which it treats, and which must sooner or later affect the destinies of Japan, that the administration will be compelled to listen to the popular voice. It is in all respects a most remarkable document, and certainly the most important state paper that has appeared within the knowledge of foreigners resident in Japan.

The memorial is both a petition and an *acte d'accusation*, for while it prays for certain reforms and the extension of liberties for the

people, it does not hesitate in the boldest terms to charge the Government with incapacity, and with sacrificing the wants of the country to motives of personal ambition. The despotism of the administration, its neglect of the welfare of the people, its mismanagement of finances and misuse of public monies are all boldly pointed out and protested against, while with considerable self denial, the claims of the *Samurai* from whom the memorial actually emanates, and whose grievances are neither light nor few, are put in the back-ground.

*October, 1877.* One of the native papers states that the expense incurred by the Government in crushing the Saga rebellion amounted to *yen* 916,284, while the Formosa expedition cost $7,718,214, the Korean affair 495,623 *yen*, and the cost of the Satsuma rebellion up to the 30th September, 1877, amounted to *yen* 38,168,573.

During this year what was known as the farm-land boom took place among the Japanese. I looked into the matter, and got the following statistics, which may be interesting to residents of Kobe:—

| | Tsubo | Government valuation. | Direct Tax. | Local Tax. | Value per tsubo. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Building sites on Kobe Hill ..... | 385 | $ 300.09 | $ 7.50 | $ 4.50 | $1.00 |
| Building sites in the Country ..... | 842 | 168.82 | 4.19½ | 6.50 | 0.80 |
| Farm-land with tea-plants, mulberry and fruit trees .. | 4,681 | 579.79 | 14.49 | 3.22 | 0.28 |
| Rice land ..... | 6,056 | 1,594.35 | 39.89 | 17.42 | 0.25 |

The farm-lands, with tea-plants and fruit-trees, paid about 7 per cent. per annum for the first 3 years, but latterly the returns had dwindled to from 2½ per cent. to 2¼ per cent.,—a result attributable

to the mismanagement of the former owners, in consequence of which many trees had to be replaced, and an elaborate system of manuring to be adopted. The rice-land brought in from 11 per cent. to 12 per cent. for the first two years, but after that the tenants began to rely too much upon the landlord. Under the feudal system taxes came entirely from farm-lands, and whenever any damage had been done to the crops, the farmers had a right to petition the authorities for an abatement of the impost after an inspection and proof of the injury suffered. And now when circumstances had changed in other respects, the worthy farmers still wished to adhere to this part of the old institutions.

## XVII.

As I wished to live in the country, I had been formally hired by a Japanese subject, and the contract had been duly registered in the Kencho. One day in October, in response to an invitation from the Kochō, or district officer, I attended a public meeting held in a temple in the village, and was well received by the officer and the people there assembled. The officer in question stated that they had met to devise some means of protecting themselves against the thieves who, in consequence of the lenient penalties of the new law, had become exceedingly troublesome. It was purposed, he said, to employ night-watchmen, and each householder would contribute to their support in proportion to his property. After discussion it was arranged that the poorer class should furnish one man per month, the better class 3, 5, or 7 men each, and the richest as many as from 10 to 15 men per month. And as a stranger and a new-comer, with no business premises or other property beyond a residence in the place, I

found myself honoured with the highest proposed assessment—15 men per month. I objected to this, pointing out that the amonnt of my local belongings did not entitle me to any such great honour as they proposed to thrust upon me, and that besides paying my due quota of police and lighting taxes, I employed a private watchman of my own to go around overnight with a pair of clappers. But all this had no effect; I was humbly and politely and insistently begged to agree to the proposal. Finally my tenants (I had a row of houses inside my compound) mediated the matter, and I was let off with an assessment for 10 men per month, the same as the largest brewery in the village, which was ten times more valuable than my property. Thus those simple-minded villagers appeared to be very kind and merciful to the stranger within their gates!

*January, 1881.* In the course of a return call he paid me, the Governor said that it would be a good thing financially for the starter, and a good thing for the health of the community, if somebody would establish a steam rice-cleaning mill. He went on to explain, that in spite of penal prohibitions to the contrary, the millers mixed what they called "cleaning sand" with the rice while it was passing through their hands. Upon the hint, I saw a Japanese friend and got estimates for such a mill,

which showed a big margin of profit upon the capital invested. So we entered into partnership and set up a mill in Kawasaki with a 5 H.P. engine and 45 basins and stampers. As the result of a week's work of 72 hours, it cleaned 210 *koku* of rice, producing 181.22 *koku* of whole rice, 1.205 *koku* of broken rice and 30 *koku* of bran. The two latter items were our payment for the work. Together they fetched *yen* 44.75. Against that we had to set the following charges:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Engineers' wages for 6 days .. .. .. .. | *Yen* 3.00 |
| Four men's wages for 6 days .. .. .. .. | „ 6.50 |
| Fuel and Oil .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | „ 18.00 |
| Rent and other Expenses .. .. .. .. .. | „ 9.00 |
| Foreman's wages for 6 days .. .. .. .. | „ 8.00 |
| | *Yen* 44.50 |

Thus it shewed but very little profit, and we began to wonder how the water-mill-men contrived to do the work for such remuneration, viz.—the bran and the broken rice. So we made a painstaking investigation and at last the murder was out. The water-mill man, we found, was in the habit of appropriating 2 to 3 per cent. of the rice, using his so called "cleaning sand" to make up the deficiency, and watering the bags shortly before handing them over to the owner.

So thereupon we came to the conclusion that it would be better for us to lease the mill to some

one. We got an offer of $115 per month,—we to furnish the engineer and fuel—which we accepted for one month as an experiment.

Shortly after the mill had begun to work under this arrangement a broker introduced us to a buyer, a Hiogo man, who offered to take over the concern on the terms of paying one-third of the price down as bargain money and the rest in three equal instalments, the mill to remain where it was till all was paid in full.

The man kept the mill going day and night, and the neighbouring working people, finding their sleep interfered with, petitioned the authorities to stop the mill during the night. But the purchaser said there was no law to compel a tax-paying subject to stop his mill at any time. However, the neighbours took advantage of a fire that broke out in the kitchen of the mill and did no damage beyond burning a hole in the roof, to urge upon the authorities the advisability of causing the mill to be removed, on the ground of its being dangerous to the community. So the mill was stopped and ordered to be shifted. However, as the man had not paid us in full he could not remove it. He tried to raise a loan to pay us in vain. Then after several months, as the second instalment was becoming due, the fellow engaged a Japanese lawyer, Fujita, a Gifu two-sworder, bribed our foreman, and

went to law to get the contract rescinded, and his bargain money returned.

Our foreman was an old servant of my partner, and had got a loan of several hundred *yen* from his master. When we ordered the mill, we found that by a mistake we were five basins short, which five basins the foreman offered to supply, and did supply, and brought the bill to my partner. The latter did not give the man cash, but arranged to credit the man's account with the amount. So the purchaser takes advantage of this, succeeds in talking over our foreman and gets him to put his seal upon those five basins and stampers on the plea that they were his, and had never been paid for. Then the purchaser complains to the Court that we had sold a portion of the plant of the mill to a third party, who had come and put his seal on that portion, thus compelling him to stop working the said mill, and on these grounds he petitioned the court for a decree cancelling the contract and ordering the return of the bargain money. Thereupon we promptly hired a Japanese lawyer and sued the man for the instalment now due. In April 1881 we had a decision that was a wonder. It ran as follows:—

"1. The purchaser of the mill, on the ground that the vendors sold those five stampers and basins to a third party, petitions the Court for a

decree cancelling the contract, and ordering the return of the bargain money, together with the first instalment already paid.

"2. The vendors make a counter-petition, alleging that the vendee has not fulfilled the terms of the agreement in paying the full instalments at the dates stipulated, and praying that the Court should order the vendee to forfeit the aforesaid bargain money and to return the mill to the vendors.

"3. From evidence adduced in the above case the Court finds that the vendee did not break the contract by delaying to pay the instalment due on the 30th Sept., since the vendors received a portion thereof on that date. The vendors wish to recover the mill and its plant while the vendee wishes to restore the same to them, and to recover the bargain money and the instalment already paid to the vendors. The Court therefore orders that the vendee shall deliver the said mill and plant to the vendors and recover from the vendors the bargain money and the first instalment paid to them, and that the vendors shall receive back the said mill and plant and refund the sums received from the vendee to him. The expenses of the Court shall be borne equally by both parties, and the said contract shall become null and void."

Of course we appealed to the Ōsaka Court and it was there decided that "the agreement was

in force." So we again sent in our original petition to the Kobe Court, which this time decided in our favour, and then the vendee appealed to the Ōsaka Court, merely to gain time, for appealing at that time gave them 60 days. While we were making ready, the broker came and asked for 3 months to raise the payments, saying that if he failed do so within that time, the vendee would ungrudgingly hand over the mill and forfeit all payments already made. He did fail to raise the money and so the mill again came into our hands.

We erected the mill in a new godown with water frontage, raised the stampers and basins to 70, and advertised our regulations and scale of charges for rice-cleaning. But not many dealers patronised us, for in our case they had to abide by our regulations and charges, while they could do pretty much what they liked with the water-millmen. I was told that these millmen's way of living was all barter and they are well contented with their menial life; that they don't require money to any extent to buy anything, since everything they wish is brought to their door by the vendors in exchange for rice, broken-rice, and bran.

The rice-dealers told me that the custom then prevalent in Hiōgō-ken was as follows:—When the dealer buys rice at the *Tonya* he sends a ticket to the miller stating the number of bales and of *koku*

he wishes him to put through his mill. The miller thereupon takes delivery of the rice at the *Tonya*, cleans it, and delivers it to the rice-dealer by measure, telling him how much it has lost in the cleaning. For this the miller gets 5½ cents per *koku*, together with the bran and the broken rice, Upon this basis we calculated what our mill could do per day; and found that we should be running it at a loss of 4½ cents per day. We then interviewed the lessee of a water-mill of 34 basins and stampers who was paying $17.50 rent per month. His mill, which cleaned 47 bales=12 *koku*, every 24 hours, gave employment to 2 drivers of two carts with a cow each, 2 cleaners, a canvasser, a grass-cutter for the cows, a cook and a boy, to each of whom he paid from 6 to 8 *sen* per day with food. On making a calculation on the basis of his alleged expenditure and receipts we found that he was running his mill at an apparent daily loss of 33⅓ *sen*.

We found also that it was the custom for the miller to put a sample lot of any rice he undertook to clean through the mill and on that to calculate the percentage of loss in bulk that would attend the whole operation. The miller generally safeguarded himself by allowing a margin in his own favour—for instance if the loss were 11 per cent., the miller would report 13 per cent. or 13½ per

cent., for the miller is responsible for any shortage, while he quietly appropriates any surplus. When the mills are busy the rice-dealers are not very exacting with the millers, but when they are slack, then the dealer puts on the screw, both as regards the cleaning-rate and the shrinkage (*héri*). However, the miller will take contracts at a loss, in order to keep the mill going and to support his family on that portion of the rice he gets in part payment. Of course, he trusts to be able to even out the account by an extra percentage of shrinkage when times improve, but as things stand, most of the millers are in debt to their patrons. "And owing to this," said my informant, "we make use of a peculiar clay discovered in the vicinity by a certain miller a few years ago. It cleans the rice more quickly, makes it whiter, and swells its bulk to the extent of 2 per cent. to 3 per cent., which the miller generally takes himself. The Government prohibits this under a penalty of from 75 *sen* to *yen* 1.50 for each offence; still all the millers use the sand in question, because it gives them an advantage, and because the dealers all know about this practice and are quite satisfied with it." All which is one more of the "tricks of the trade."

*December 18th, 1884.* In Korea, outlaws have risen and killed some of the Ministers of State and others. After this they assaulted the Japanese

Legation and the Minister Hanabusa had to escape to Ninsen, while the mob made a bonfire of the Legation itself, which had just been completed for the sum of *yen* 100,000. This news sent rice up from *yen* 5 to *yen* 6.50 per *koku*, while the Mexican dollar advanced from 1.07 to 1.48 per paper dollar in Kobe and Osaka.

*December 25th.* On this and the following days wild excitement prevailed among the Japanese population in the port. On account of the sudden rise in specie, and of advances made on goods shipped to Korea by Japanese dealers, the private banker Marusan stopped payment with assets amounting to only one-tenth of his liabilities which were reported to reach $500,000. On account of the high rate of interest offered by the Bank, many among the poorer classes in Kobe had deposited their savings there; and these now went and stood round the door of the place day and night clamouring for their money, some of the men even threatening to commit suicide if their deposits were not returned to them. At last the banker appeared and stated that all deposits for amounts under *yen* 20 would be repaid in a day or two. This had the effect of dispersing the tumultuous crowd. In spite of rumours to the effect that the bank would resume business within a few days, it never did so. All that took place was a long litigation

between the shareholders and the chief official of the institution.

The public of Kobe seem to be entirely occupied with a rumour about the doings of a high official who had been sent to Shimonoseki to watch the Korean affair from there. He is accused of making illegal use of his political knowledge to operate in the Rice Exchange in Ōsaka. He is reported to have netted several thousand dollars there, in spite of the fact that Government Officials are prohibited from engaging in any business, either directly or indirectly.

*December 26th.* To-day Mr. Yagimoto, Secretary of Hiōgo-ken, wrote asking me for the loan of the steam-engine at my mill to turn the dynamo to try an experiment with the electric light on the Bund of Kobe. So I lent it, and this experiment seems to have been the origin of the splendid light now flooding the streets of Kobe.

*May.* In this month on the invitation of my old friend Mr. Ishimaru, Commissioner of the navy-yard at Kobe, I went to witness the launching of the corvette *Yamato-kan*, the first man-of-war built in Onohama dockyard.

*May 17th.* On the invitation of a priest who was a friend of mine, Mr. Scidmore, U. S. Vice-Consul, and myself paid a visit to the famous temple of Horiuji. This temple has never in its whole

history of 1,300 years suffered from fire, and hence can boast a collection of relics and treasures unique in Japan.

*January 25th, 1886.* Great discontent prevails in Kobe on account of the action of the local authorities. They have sent officials to inspect the books of the merchants and dealers in the place, to find out what amount of taxes they can impose upon them.

As in all times of panic, many mistakes were made. For example, late at night the police heard the sound of vomiting in a house, and at once entered with the Government health officer. He pronounced the patient—it was a pregnant woman—to be suffering from cholera, and in spite of the protests of herself, of her husband, and of her physician and relatives he hurried her off to the cholera hospital. She caught cold, and what with that and the fright, she was a corpse before morning. Her husband and her own physician petitioned the Government for a *post-mortem* examination, which was granted. This conclusively showed that the woman had not been suffering from cholera at all, and that her death had been caused by cold and fright. The Government acted promptly and with well-deserved severity. The health officer was fined, dismissed from his post, and his license to practice cancelled for ever.

*October*. The U. S. Consul failing to obtain detailed accounts of the export of camphor from the port since 1868, asked me to furnish him with *data*. I applied to actual dealers and was able to furnish him with the following figures :—

| Date. | Quantities in Catties. | Value in Yen. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Meiji 1st (1868) | 98,300 | *Yen* 10,780.0 | |
| ,, 2nd (1869) | 805,926 | ,, 110,064.50 | |
| ,, 3rd (1870) | 1,068,579 | ,, 136,435.40 | |
| ,, 4th (1871) | 58,829 | ,, 6,599.16 | |
| ,, 5th (1872) | 152,096 | ,, 22,057 98 | Average price |
| ,, 6th (1873) | 39,342 | ,, 6,057.53 | from $13.00 |
| ,, 7th (1874) | 164,472 | ,, 24,202.81 | to $14.00 per |
| ,, 8th (1875) | 218,882 | ,, 28,757.85 | picul. |
| ,, 9th (1876) | 847,755 | ,, 87,089.60 | |
| ,, 10th (1877) | 898,425 | ,, 126,174.50 | |
| ,, 11th (1878) | 1,471,691 | ,, 199,144.60 | |
| ,, 12th (1879) | 1,085,395 | ,, 176,299.13 | |
| ,, 13th (1880) | 2,022,000 | | |
| ,, 14th (1881) | 2,134,400 | | Average price |
| ,, 15th (1882) | 3,161,000 | | from $15.00 |
| ,, 16th (1883) | 3,566,000 | | to $16,00 per |
| ,, 17th (1884) | 2,990,000 | | picul. |
| ,, 18th (1885) | 2,520,000 | | |
| ,, 19th (1886) | 2,070,000 | | $18/19 per picul. |

This article is produced in Kiushiu, Shikoku, Choshiu, Awaji and Kii. In 1886 there were only eleven Japanese, ten foreign, and a few Chinese dealers in the commodity in the port of Hiōgo. The article is stowed in native tubs—one *picul* in each—packed in straw and generally despatched in rag-cargoes in sailing ships.

The Japanese seem to have gone crazy over foreign things and foreign fashions at Tōkiō and Ōsaka. And here even in provincial Kobe, on the

Emperor's birthday, the Governor is to give a grand foreign ball, for which the local assembly has voted $3,000, to which 600 Japanese and Foreign guests are to be invited, and at which both sexes must appear in foreign dress. All the Japanese tailors that know anything about foreign clothes are having a busy time of it. Consequently, white kid gloves have advanced from 75 *sen* to *yen* 1.75 per pair, and are even unprocurable at that.

I was honoured with an invitation to the function, and so on the evening of November 3rd I dined with a foreign gentleman and two ladies and then went to the Ken Assembly Hall, where the Ball was to take place. The whole place, inside, was flooded with the soft gleam of the electric light, while the compound was tastefully decorated with evergreens and white and red paper-lanterns. In spite of the order to appear in foreign dress, I noticed that many present were in native garb, mostly the wives and daughters of officials. When the Ball commenced, the Governor and his wife danced a square dance, and at the same time the Under Secretary, Mr. Makino, also took the floor. But with these three exceptions all the dancing was done by the foreign guests. Some of the Japanese who could neither converse nor dance with the foreigners, drew aside in small groups, and commented on the strange passing

show, saying to each other that it was very odd and funny to see such grey-haired and bald-headed people dancing away with all the vigour of boys and girls, and that certainly Japanese and Western customs must be very different. However, when supper was announced at 11 o'clock, the foreigners no longer had the honour of being the only active participants in the function, the Japanese then shewing what doughty trencherman they could be, and vying with the foreigners in the disposal of the inexhaustible store of good things provided for the welfare of the inner man. I got talking with some officials, and in the course of our conversation reference was made to the wonderful craze for foreign dress evinced by the wives and daughters of officials in Tōkiō, Ōsaka and elsewhere. This was said to have been caused by the Empress's appearing in it in Tōkiō at the beginning of the year, and afterwards going in it to Kiōto, where a semi-official notice was issued alleging that "the dress the Empress then wore had been worn by the ancient Japanese." At the same time foreign dancing had become very fashionable among the officials and some merchants. My friends at the ball told me that all this was dictated by Treaty Revision considerations; that the high officials in Tōkiō were anxious to see more social intercourse between Japanese and the foreign communities in

the Capital and the Treaty Ports, and that as a want of the knowledge of each other's language made Japanese and foreigners like oil and water at most social gatherings, dancing had been introduced to mitigate their dulless.

*December.* Some foreign ladies in Kobe have begun to give dancing-lessons to Japanese officials, and their wives and daughters. Among the pupils are the Governor and his wife—although both well on in the forties.

*December 15th.* A newspaper states that at Ōsaka a notice has appeared ordering all officials to appear either in frock-coats or dress-coats at the coming new year's reception. In consequence of this notice, materials and tailor's wages have gone up 20 per cent. in Ōsaka, while it is estimated that the tailors have orders to the amount of *Yen* 400,000.

On New Year's day, 1887, I noticed many Japanese, among them several ladies, in foreign dress in the streets of Hiōgo. In the middle of February one of the physicians in the Navy delivered a lecture to an audience of 300 people at a native hotel in Kobe, in which he argued that the women of Japan should adopt the so-called foreign style of dress, which is not really foreign at all, but ancient Japanese, and that they should wear their hair *Soku-hatsu*, and that they should give up the practice of shaving their eye-brows and

blacking their teeth. This lecture is said to have been prompted by one of the Ministers of State in order to get the common classes to follow the fashion since the Empress wears this as an ancient Japanese dress.

Early in March, on account of my health, I went to Yokohama and Tōkiō for a change of air. On the morning of March 12th, while on my way to Tōkiō, I met Count Ito in the railway station. He recognized me, shook hands with me and asked me where I had been. At this point Mr. Mutsu came up and likewise shook hands with me and introduced me to Governor Oki. They were then all awaiting for the Empress-Dowager, who had arrived in the *Naniwa-kan* from Kiōto *via* Hanta in Bishiū and was about to leave for Tōkiō, by train.

While I was stopping at Yokohama, I made several calls on Count Ito, but never found him in, though I saw Countess several times. So on the 24th April, just before my return to Kobe, I made a call on the Count and Countess to say *Sayonara*, but found them both out, so I left my cards with his foreign Secretary.

A few days after my return to Kobe, I received the following kind note from that latter gentleman:—

Tokio, 28th April, 1887.

My dear Mr. Heco,

I handed your card to Mr. Ito the other day and he was very sorry he had missed your visit, especially as it was the last time you were to be up here prior to your departure for Kobe.

Since that day, Mr. Ito has asked me to write you a line and to say that he is extremely sorry he was unable to meet you when you were up here, and to send you all sorts of kind messages. I have great pleasure in doing his bidding in this matter, and beg to join in his wishes for health and happiness.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) PEYTON JAUDON.

*November 3rd.* The Governor and members of the Hiōgo-ken Assembly and the merchants of Kobe gave a grand ball to celebrate the Emperor's birthday. The invitations were issued in the names of the Governor, his wife, the Assembly-men and the civilians of the town. To those who knew Japan of the Ante-Restoration days, this conjunction of the Governor with the merchant-class seems a "broadening down" with a vengeance. As the English play has it: "The age is grown so picked that the toe of the peasant comes so near the heel of the courtier, he galls his kibe."

*December 15th.* Count Ito arrived in port in the warship *Naniwa-kan*, which it is understood is to be stationed here. On the following day the Count was to go on to Yokohama in the Nippon Yusen Kaisha steamer, but he did not go. It was then given out that he would go positively by their next boat, the *Niigato-maru*; but he did not go by her, but on the *Naniwa-kan*. He arrived at Yokohama on the 17th, and at once left for Tōkiō. He did not go to Shimbashi, but got out at Shinagawa and went straight to his own resi-

dence close by. It is said that his peculiar movements were occasioned by the knowledge that some *sōshi* were seeking his life, and that they meant to assassinate him when he was going on board the mail-boat at Kobe.

Shortly after his arrival in Tōkiō, on December 24th, the so-called Peace Preservation Act of seven clauses was issued, ordering all *sōshi* in Tōkiō to withdraw to a distance of 3 *ri* from the Castle. On December 26th it was reported that the Police had swooped down upon 416 of the principal *sōshi* in Tōkiō, and had escorted them out of the city, mostly to Yokohama and Kanagawa, while they were keeping those who had been allowed to remain under very strict surveillance. Some Tosa men who had been ordered to leave among the others and refused to comply, were arrested, tried and condemned to terms of imprisonment varying from one to three years.

## XVIII.

*1888.* Inasmuch as the doctors had advised me to try what a change of climate in Tōkiō would effect for the neuralgia that had tormented me for so long, on Feb. 4th, I took passage on the *Yamashiro-maru* for myself and family. A large number of the residents escorted us to the wharf at Kawasaki to bid us farewell. Among the passengers I noticed no fewer than a round half-dozen of Provincial Governors, for none of whom *mal de mer* had the slighest respect; sea-sickness being no great respecter of dignities. In due course we reached Yokohama, and from there I shortly after went on to Tōkiō, where I rented a house at Negishi, near Uyeno Park.

*December 28th.* From to-day to the 4th January the officials have their New Year's holidays. In the Japanese papers I notice that many officials, bankers, and merchants have advertised that during the holidays they will be away from home and will not receive visitors. This made me sad to think that the introductian of so-called Foreign

civilization, seems to occasion a sad falling-off in the old politeness and strict etiquette of the Japanese people. That people should leave the city for the hot-springs and elsewhere instead of calling on their friends and relatives on the New Year's holidays, which come but once a year, strikes me as a peculiar thing indeed. That they should advertise the fact in the public press strikes me as being still more peculiar.

*January 11th, 1889.* I went to see the Emperor and the Empress removing from the old building to the newly-erected palace in the Castle grounds. It was a grand sight,—the Emperor and the Empress were in beautiful carriages, accompanied by the Ministers of State, each in a splendid turn-out, while the military were all under arms.

*February 7th.* It has been snowing since last evening. A notice has been issued by the local authorities requiring the citizens to celebrate the festival of the 11th inst. with unusual pomp as it is not only the day of Jimmu Tenno, the founder of the Japanese Imperial line, but also of the promulgation of the new Constitution.

*February 11th.* In the morning still snowing heavily, but about noon it began to clear. Although the streets were simply a swamp of mud, they were crowded with people who turned out to witness the Emperor's procession from the Palace to the

Aoyama Parade-ground. There was a perfect sea of *dashi*, *yatai*, schoolmasters and students in front of the Palace when the Emperor came out. The evening's issue of the *Hochi* stated that while making ready to go to the Promulgation Ceremony, the Minister of Education had that morning at 8 o'clock been attacked and severely wounded by an assassin. The murderer had been cut down on the spot by the Minister's body-guard, his head having heen severed from his shoulders by a single blow. He was identified as Nishino Buntaro, 24 years of age, the son of a Shinto priest, and an employé in one of the Bureaux of the Department of the Interior, where he was receiving a salary of *yen* 12 per month, and where he was looked upon as an eccentric but harmless individual. He was prompted to the deed, it is alleged, by the fact that when on a visit to the Temples of Ise, the Minister (Viscount Mori) had entered the sacred shrine without taking off his shoes, and had furthermore lifted up the curtain with a cane he carried in his hand; all which Nishino held to be insulting and outrageous conduct towards the Goddess. The Minister died of his wound at 6h. 30m. the following morning.

From the 10th to the 12th the city was gay with arches of evergreens, flags, lanterns, dancing-stages and so forth. The Government presented caps, dress piece-goods, and money

to 673 octogenarians and to 10 nonagenarians in the city of Tokyo, while many convicts were liberated by the clemency of the Emperor on the occasion.

*February 12th.* At the request of the citizens, the Emperor and Empress rode through the principal thoroughfares of the city to Uyeno Park. Their carriages were accompanied by most of the Ministers of State. However, the Minister President, and the Ministers for Finance, Navy and Army, all Satsuma men, were conspicuous by their absence on this occasion; the sad death of their fellow-clansman, Viscount Mori, the Minister of Education, doubtless occupying their attention.

*March 18th.* I accompanied the head-priest of one of the large temples at Kanasugi to the Higashi Honganji, to hear a lecture on Buddhism by an American Colonel who had come all the way from India by invitation. The Colonel looked about 70 years of age, was grey, grizzled, stout and healthy in appearance. Two interpreters translated his oration sentence by sentence. The burden of his discourse was an advice to Buddhist priests. The Colonel reproached them vigorously for their bad conduct and lazy lives, and charged them to cleanse their hearts and exert themselves to propagate the religion of Buddha among their countrymen. Furthermore it was their duty to go abroad among all the nations of the world, and to

preach their doctrines to the people who were merely awaiting their instruction in order to become disciples of Shaka. Even as it was, in France, the most Catholic country in the world, there were 12,000 believers, while in America, and in England there were several thousands.

The Colonel's audience numbered some 1,200 —all priests, except some half-dozen laymen who were there by special invitation.

*May 20th.* Moved into my new house at Haramachi, Tōkiō.

*August 26th.* To-day was celebrated the tercentenary of the entrance of Iyeyasu into Yedo, at that time a mere village of huts. The neighbourhood of Uyeno was the scene of the chief doings. At *Tō-shōgu,* where the Founder of the Tokugawa dynasty is worshipped, at 8 a.m. the priests came out in full canonicals, and offered a cup of *sake* to Viscount Enomoto, the Chairman of the Committee. He bowed three times as he received it, and then a band struck up, and after that 75 different prayers were intoned in the temple. After this, all adjourned to the race-course of Shinobazu below, and there the Governor read an address to which Viscount Enomoto responded, and then the programme of races and old Japanese sports began. It lasted till evening, when the

whole place was lit up with fire-works. Everything was conducted with the utmost order. At this ceremony the offering of *O-hatsu* amounted to *yen* 3,500, while the *saisen* offered by the people in copper cash amounted to *yen* 600 and filled eight straw sacks.

*October 18th.* On his way home from a Cabinet meeting about 4 p.m. this afternoon, Count Okuma, Minister for Foreign Affairs, was waylaid by an assassin, who hurled a bomb at his carriage, calling out *Shinjo!* The missile struck the carriage and burst, shattering the Count's leg, which had to be amputated that same night. The would-be-assassin cut his own throat and killed himself on the spot. He had nothing but a knife and his own photograph upon him. He was a Chikuzen man, named Kurushima, who had gone crazy reading leading articles in the Japanese newspapers.

On account of this occurrence, the Minister's residence was surrounded with an extra guard of police over-night.

*January, 1890.* A Japanese newspaper states that the first instance of a strike in Japan has just occurred at the National Assembly Buildings, where the carpenters stopped work till their demands were acceded to.

*March 21st.* Went with Togano and Takata

to see the fencing-matches at Sakakibara Ken-kichi's—a famous fencing-master in pre-Restoration times, who has just attained the age of 61 and changed his name to "Re-sui-o."

*April 19th.* In the train I had a talk with Mr. Nakajima Nobuyuki, ex-Governor of Kana-gawa-ken and the first President of the National Assembly. He told me a strange thing—that he had just been talking with Count Ito at Odawara, who have told him that the petition for the abolition of the *Han* had been preferred by Himeji-Han (my own native country) in the first year of Meiji, while the Mikado's forces were still fighting with the remnants of the Tokugawa party at Aidzu.

On account of the unseasonable weather since the beginning of the year, rice began to rise in price, and rapidly advanced from *yen* 5.50 to *yen* 8, 9, and even *yen* 10, or *yen* 11 per *koku*, and this in spite of the statement that there was an abundance of the commodity in the country. To alleviate the distress the Government, through some Japanese syndicates, imported China and Indian rice with the Central Famine Fund. But when the Governmet put this up for sale by tender in the Tōkiō and Ōsaka rice markets, the price of rice, instead of going down, went up still higher, for the public began to make certain that rice was really scarce in the country. This state of affairs ultimately

gave rise to rice riots in Sado, Kanazawa, Niigata, Nagoya and elsewhere, which, together with good weather in July, seemed to put a stop to the rise.

In my opinion the Government, instead of selling the imported rich by tender, ought to have sold it to retail dealers at cost, on the understanding that the latter were to dispose of it to the public at the smallest possible margin of profit.

*November 19th.* According to the *Hochi*, this season there have been 44,348 cases of cholera and 30,874 deaths therefrom, in a total population of 40,072,000.

Owing to the tightness of the American and European money market, Japanese silk has accumulated to the extent of 35,000 bales in Yokohama. This represents a value of *yen* 10,000,000.

*November 25th.* To-day Tōkiō and Yokohama were *en fête* to celebrate the opening of the First National Assembly.

*January 20th.* 1891. Over-night the temporary buildings for the National Assembly, which had been erected at a cost of *yen* 210,000 were burned down. The conflagration resulted from a defective installation of the electric light.

*March 31st.* This morning's Japanese newspapers have a strange story to the effect that Saigo, Kirino, and others who fell on the battle-field during the Satsuma rebellion of 1877, have re-

appeared and are coming to Japan in the suite of the Czarewitch.

*April 1st.* A case is reported in the Japanese newspapers which is quite remarkable in a country where the spy-system is well-nigh perfect. One Watanabe Sakigaké, a clerk in a branch of the Mitsui House in Nagasaki, had been sentenced to 20 years' penal servitude in Miike coal-mine for embezzlement. About 10 years ago he escaped from custody and disappeared. Last month he was discovered in the person of a highly-respected judge on the bench in Nagasaki-ken.

*May 11th.* By invitation I paid a visit to the Chichibu silk factory, 9½ *ri* from Honjo Railway Station. We were received by the proprietor, Mr. Fukushima, who shewed us over the place, one half of which was in operation. This consisted of various kinds of Japanese looms, employing about 50 female weavers and about as many mechanics. The place covered about 2½ acres of ground, and was composed of three smaller buildings and a main building of two floors, the lower one being occupied with the machinery, and the upper serving as quarters for the weavers, and for making *kase*—that is for twisting the thread before sending it to the loom. I had been invited to inspect the place in order that I might help to raise a working capital to enable the concern to keep going when its turn-

out met with a dull market. I was informed that the place had been originally started as a Joint Stock Company with a capital of *yen* 100,000, of which *yen* 42,000 had been spent in the erection of the buildings, which had been begun when only $30,000 worth of shares had been disposed of. This had made the rest of the shares unsaleable, and what with mismanagement, a few of the principal shareholders had been obliged to take over the whole concern for *yen* 10,000. The factory was being run at a cost of *yen* 1,280 per month, of which the sum of *yen* 1,000 was for raw silk, *yen* 180 for the wages and food of 50 female hands and *yen* 100 for incidental expenses. The hands all came from Echigo, since no female of the place would submit to the long hours and low wages. These hands were engaged when between 12 and 15 years of age, and were put under the charge of a woman of 35 or 40, whose business it was to teach and supervise them. Their working day was 16 hours, with 3 hours for meals, that is 13 hours in all. The total production of raw silk in the neighbourhood of the town of Chichibu is said to be 1,500 bales of 9 *kwammé*, equal in value to *yen* 500,000. Of this 500 bales are made into *neji* or "twist-pack," and about 300 bales into Hanks in the town —this representing an additional value of *yen* 265,000.

The 2nd National Bank in Yokohama makes advances at the rate of *7 sen* per *yen* 100 per *diem* on the silk while in transit to the Treaty Port; the carriers (Tsu-un Kaisha) acting as insurers, and being answerable to the Bank for all losses. When the silk is warehoused in the Bank's godown the rate of interest is then reduced to from $2\frac{1}{10}$ *sen* to $3\frac{1}{2}$ *sen* per cent. per *diem*, equal to over 7 per cent. per annum. But 1 per cent. is charged for rent and other expenses in addition.

*May 12th.* On my arrival at Uyeno Station, I learned that on the previous day the Czarewitch had been attacked and slightly wounded by a crazy policeman at the town of Otsu, in Shiga Ken. The Prince's jinrikishamen had felled the policeman before he could do any great harm. The Emperor and his Ministers had gone to offer *mimai* (sympathy), while wild excitement prevailed all over the Empire in consequence of the affair.

*May 17th.* It is announced that the Governor and the Chief of Police of Shiga Ken have been stripped of their rank and dismissed from the service.

*May 20th.* The Japanese press states that the jinrikishamen who saved the Czarewitch's life at Otsu, have received a decoration of the 8th class, and an annual pension of *yen* 36, while the Czarewitch has given them each a present of $2500, and

an annual pension of $1,000, together with a Russian decoration.

Although it had been announced that the Czarewitch was to accompany the Emperor to Tōkiō, and the city authorities had begun to prepare for the visit, yet the Prince did not come, he having received instructions from his parents to proceed home at once through Siberia. He left Kobe on the 19th, the Emperor dining with him on board his vessel on the evening of his departure.

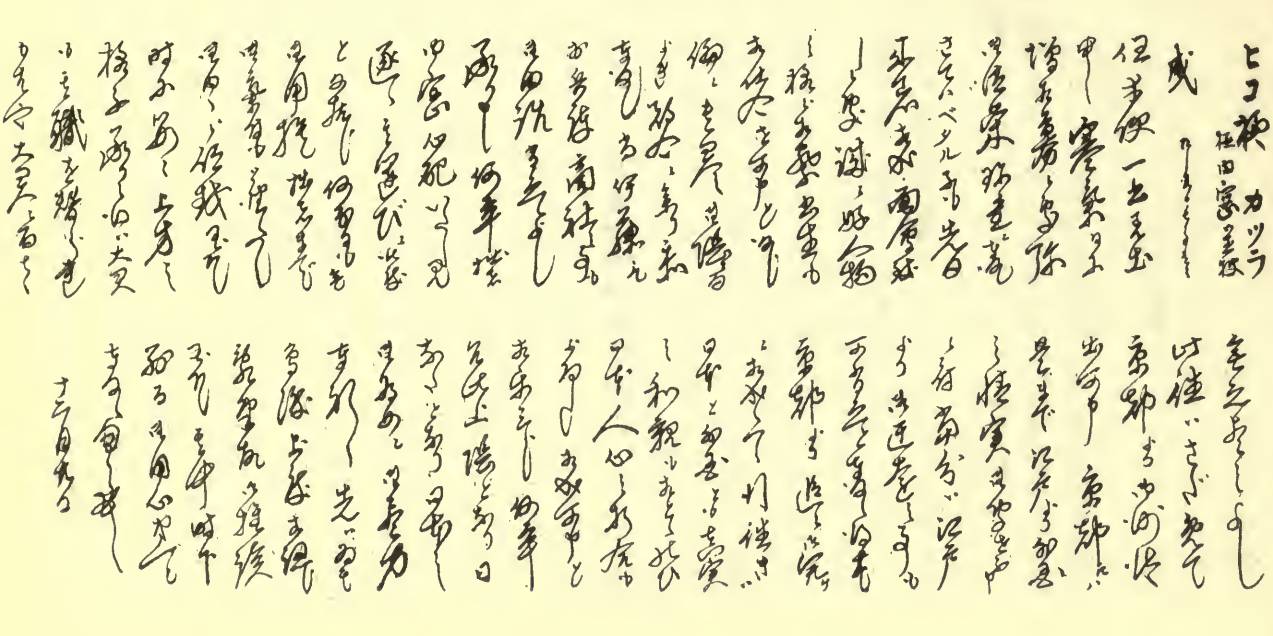
It is announced that although the Japanese Government had appointed young Arisugawa-no-Miya and Viscount Enomoto, late Minister to Russia, to proceed to St Petersburgh, as special Envoys to explain the occurrence at Otsu, the appointment has been cancelled, inasmuch as the Russian Government has expressed itself perfectly satisfied with what the Government and people of Japan have done on the occasion.

On the 27th of March Tsuda, the Otsu criminal, was sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for life.

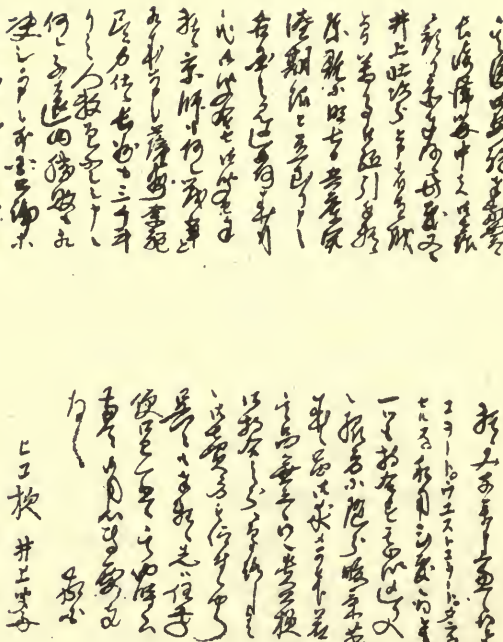
*October 28th.* About 6.40 a.m. we felt the shock of earthquake in Tōkiō, that laid the prefectures of Gifu and Aichi in ruins.

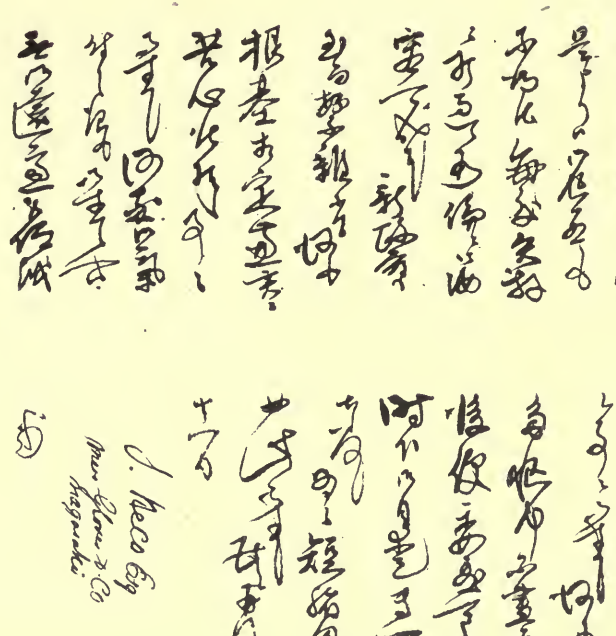
THE END.

# APPENDIX.



## APPENDIX B.





J. Ito Esq
Mori Ekwa & Co
Nagasaki.

# APPENDIX.

In connection with the view of Yedo as it appeared in 1863, I give the following details of an old city institution (now defunct) that I learned from a Mr. Matsuoka, who had served as President of the famous *saké* guild for more than 40 years.

The Tokugawa Government, holding litigation to be troublesome, costly, and the cause of enmities, decided to keep it in check as much as possible, and with that view established the following regulations :—

1st. Three old city families—those of Tachi, Taru and Kitamura—were appointed *Toshiyori* (elders), to serve under the two Governors (East and West) of Yedo.

2nd. Under these *Toshiyori* were several *Nanushi*, also appointed by the Government. Their office was also hereditary during good behaviour. In case of misconduct the City Governors were empowered to suspend these functionaries and to transfer their office to others at will.

3rd. Under these *Nanushi* were *Go-nin-gumi* and *Cho-yaku-nin*, the latter of whom elected the former from their own number. These *Go-nin-gumi* had to be approved by the *Toshiyori* and *Nanushi*.

4th. Under these officials were the ten guilds, composed of merchants of standing in the city. Of these the *Sake-donya* (*saké* guild) was the most important.

After it came the *Momen-donya* (dealers in cotton fabrics), the *Futomono-donya* (dealers in silk pieces-goods), the *Tetsumono-donya* (dealers in iron), the *Omi-ten* (dealers in matting), the *Yakushi-donya* (dealers in drugs), the *Nurimono-donya* (dealers in lacquer ware), the *Ro-donya* (dealers in vegetable wax), the *Midzu-abura-donya* (dealers in oil) and the *Kami-donya* (dealers in paper). The officials of these guilds were on the footing of city officers.

All Commercial disputes were submitted to the guild officers for decision. The *saké* guild, for instance, usually selected from their own number, three *Robun*, and six yearly, and as many monthly, *Gioji* (Judges). The duties of a *Robun* were analogous to those of the Director of a Company, while the Gioji had to serve under these *Robun* in all matters (except keeping the guild accounts) and to settle all disputes among the members. All the

guild expenses were contributed by the members. The admission fee was 1,000 *Rio*. All this entrance money was kept by the *Robun*, and was devoted to making good any deficiency in the expenses. There was no land tax in the city beyond 7 per cent. of the rent collected from the land-lease, and this sum was kept for such emergencies as fire, flood, or earthquake, by the chief of the *Momi-gura*, or Paddy Godown.

These *Momi-gura*, or huge Paddy Godowns, where rice was kept for years, were established by the Tokugawa Government to aid the people in times of famine. The officials, selected from the wealthiest men in the community, were appointed by the Governors of the City. They were entitled to wear two swords, and held a high status in Yedo society.

In Yedo there were five of these *Momi-gura*. The Government supplied the original stock of unhulled rice, which had to be changed every 7 or 10 years, the surplus old stock being sold at a reduced rate. The new rice was purchased by the accumulation of 7 per cent. of all the *Miyoga Kin* and by an annual contribution from the guilds of 10,200 *Rio*, of which the *Saké-donya* paid 1500 *Rio*.

Disbursements from the *Momi-gura* were made in the following cases:—1. To aid in time of famine, and, 2, of fire, flood and earthquake. 3. To rebuild

the four great bridges of Yedo, Azuma, Riogoku, Eitai, and Ōhashi. 4. To merchants in difficulties who wished to wind-up, or to re-establish their businesses. Applications were in form of petitions endorsed by the district *Nanushi* or *Choyaku-nin*, and with one or more good securities. Evidence also had to be tendered of good character and honest reputation. 5. For charity and for the support of the poor.

Under the old regime the citizens of Yedo had as much regard to honour and honesty as to merely becoming rich. Hence there was no litigation and few cases of bankruptcy, and so there was no difficulty in getting advances from the *Momi-gura*.

At the Revolution the new Government found in these *Momi-gura* an accumulation of 400,000 *Rio*. This sum it devoted to building Ginza (between Shimbashi and Kiyobashi) with brick. The work was begun in 1872, and finished about '75 or '76.

In Tokugawa Yedo, or under the old régime, only the main thoroughfares were maintained by the Government, all the side streets, with their repairs, guttez-cleaning and so forth, being attended to by the landowners. In the rare case of any commercial disputes being brought before the Governors of the city, these latter generally referred them to the *Toshiyori*, who in turn referred

them to the *Nanushi* and the *Robun*, and these last almost invariably settled them to the satisfaction of all concerned. Thus it appears, before 1860 there were no known Commercial Laws in the city, and no lawyer was needed to waste people's time and money and to breed discord and enmity.

## ERRATA.

ON PAGE. LINE.

No. 15.—19: For "his" read "this."
„ 27.— 4: „ "Shutaro" read "Chutaro."
„ 127.— 2: „ (No. 8, on the plan, read No. 6, &c.)
„ 169.—Plate VI, for "June," read "July 19th."
„ 216.—18: For Commanded read Command.
„ 230.— 8: „ "failed do" read "failed to do."
„ 233.— 1: „ Hanabusa read Takezoye.
„ 245.—28: „ Caps read cups.

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